

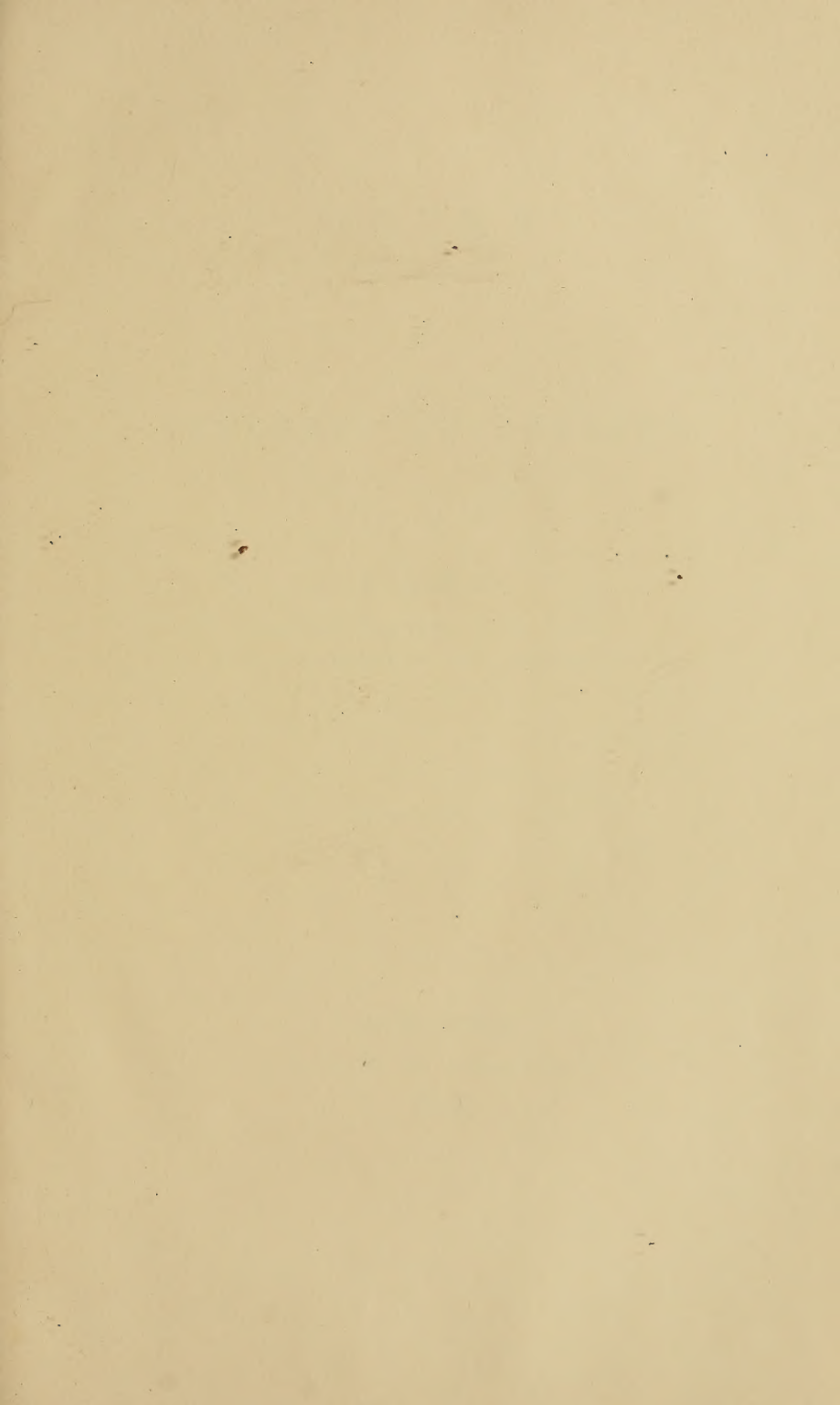
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WORKS
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VOLUME II.

INDIRECT TESTIMONY. ACTA PILATI.
CHRIST'S MISSION TO THE UNDERWORLD.



NEW YORK:
DAVID G. FRANCIS.
1887.

INDIRECT
TESTIMONY OF HISTORY
TO THE
GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPELS.

BY
FREDERIC HUIDEKOPER.

SEVENTH EDITION.

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DAVID G. FRANCIS.
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P R E F A C E .

THE history of mankind evinces that civilization has been highest in communities where conscience and hopefulness have been most developed.¹ It further shows that these have been most developed in communities having most faith in a Moral Ruler of the universe, to whom mankind are responsible, and in whom they can trust.² Yet further: no community without belief in revelation has ever believed in such a Ruler.

If we now turn to the question of revelation we find at least two communications, one through Moses and a later one through Jesus, which claim to be from God, and the evidence for which, internal or external, claims respectful attention. The one through Moses is so buried in a remote antiquity as to furnish us with little or no external evidence save what we find in the Old Testament and in the influence which Judaism exercised on Greek civilization. The other, through Jesus, is at a date when

¹ See *Judaism at Rome*, pp. 364, 367 - 371, 382 - 386.

² See *Judaism*, pp. 367, 370, 386.

external evidence, direct or indirect, is more abundant and permits more thorough scrutiny.

Our knowledge of Jesus and his teaching rests chiefly on the genuineness and trustworthiness of four records termed Gospels. The direct evidence for their genuineness has been repeatedly given. The following work is an effort to present some of the indirect evidence.

There are individuals who in a question of this kind reject any evidence for what is supernatural. Some do this heedlessly because indifferent to the subject; some do it impatiently from antagonism to what they deem human credulity; others who appreciate the subject find themselves unable to credit an interruption to the laws of nature. For these last mentioned a suggestion is placed in the note.³

In the Appendix various fraudulent works by Christians are given in Notes A to K inclusive. In these no

³ No fact can be better established than that the earth at no comparatively remote period was uninhabited by mankind. They now live upon it, and it is obvious from geology that they originally were, as now, distinct from, and independent of, any known animal. When the first human pair, or pairs, came into existence, it could not have been as helpless infants. They must have had capacity to care for themselves. This formation of two or more mature human beings, destitute of parents, must unquestionably have taken place. No recorded human experience has witnessed such an event, nor is there any natural law to which it can be referred. Yet this fact, though obviously a miracle, is one which it seems impossible to reject. Does not a consideration of it render easy the supposition that the Being who formed man would interpose for his education?

miracles are attributed to Jesus except those found in our Gospels. This claims especial attention in the earliest of them, the Acts of Pilate, wherein §§ 8, 9, should be studied. The inference is fair that in the first half, or perhaps in the first quarter, of the second century, the history of Jesus was so well established that even the author of a fraud, anxious to magnify the Master, did not venture in this respect to vary from it.

Of these fraudulent works some were translated by the author and some are given in extant translations. He had intended, revising both, except in the Ascension of Isaiah, that being from the Æthiopic, of which he is ignorant. The condition of his sight has precluded such revision. Its absence will not affect the argument, but may the interpretation of particular passages. He could have wished also further time for research on more than one point. Other and more imperative duties, however, claim what remains to him of vision. In bringing his work to a close he must acknowledge deep indebtedness to Professor Ezra Abbot, of Cambridge, for valuable aid.

MEADVILLE, PA., July 28, 1879.

In this third edition there is, aside from minor emendations, some change of arrangement in Note M, and addition to Note R.

MEADVILLE, PA., July 31, 1882.

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INTRODUCTION.

DURING the present century opinions have gained more or less currency that our Gospels are not documents prepared by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. The views advanced by those who distrust their alleged authorship may be classified under the following heads.

1. Our Gospels were composed towards the close of the second or beginning of the third century.

2. They were at the foregoing date selected from a number then in circulation whose value was uncertain.

3. Our Gospels grew until the close of the second century under the hands of Christians, being gradually enlarged and interpolated.

Two extracts on this subject are appended¹ and others will be found in Note L. footnote 1.

¹ The first volume of Eichhorn's Introduction to the New Testament was published in 1804. Two paragraphs from his TABLE OF CONTENTS will give a tolerable insight into his views concerning the Gospels.

"Those portions of the life of Jesus which in the Apostolic age were deemed important and made the foundation of Christian instruction, namely, the noteworthy events from the date of his public appearance as Teacher until the complete separation from his disciples after his resurrection, constituted in all probability the contents of the first written conceptions of the life of Jesus.

"This [document] is no longer extant, for the Catholic [canonical?] Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke comprise several portions of the life of Jesus. Moreover, entirely other Gospels were in use until the end

It is obvious that, if such opinions were correct, the Gospels would be replete with the peculiarities of those who formed or added to them. To appreciate this, let us imagine that such documents had been formed or interpolated in our own time. If, for instance, during the contest concerning slavery such documents had been devised or augmented by the abolitionists, they would unquestionably have attributed to the Master condemnation of what they themselves treated as "the sum of human villanies." If, on the other hand, slaveholders had produced or interpolated such documents, they would hardly have failed to make the Master lay down rules for the relation between master and slave.

If such documents had been formed by advocates of

of the second century." — **Eichhorn**, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1, p. ix.

Eichhorn, however, attributes the fourth Gospel (*Einleitung*, 2, pp. 131, 132) to the apostle John.

In 1835, **D. F. Strauss** published his *Leben Jesu*, or *Life of Jesus*, a work of which several editions appeared in Germany, and an English translation was published in London and at a later date in New York. Of this work the following summary is given in the **New Am. Cyclopædia**, 15, p. 131. "It supposed the existence of Jesus, an exemplary and reformatory rabbi of Galilee; that he lived and died an enthusiastic and admired teacher and innovator; that after his death many marvellous incidents concerning him gradually gained currency; that some of these were exaggerations of actual events, and others symbolical forms in which his disciples clothed his doctrines and precepts; that these wonderful narratives were not designed by single persons, but were the spontaneous outgrowth of poetical and philosophical tendencies in the early church; that they circulated orally for half a century or more, being constantly magnified and multiplied; and that from this cluster of myths, this mass of legendary and poetical lore, various compilations were then made, of which there have come down to us the four canonical and several apocryphal Gospels."

Such views as the foregoing, modified to suit the various fancies of their advocates, have found a credence explicable only by the general lack of acquaintance with early Christian history.

what is termed evangelical theology, does any one suppose that no word would have been attributed to Jesus concerning the vicarious atonement, the alleged fact in his history which they deemed the most important? Or that, if formed by Roman Catholics, no word would have been placed in the Master's mouth concerning papal or ecclesiastical authority?

From a former work I subjoin a passage² to which any

² "The Gospels — whether adopted earlier or later — were used by the early Christians as a history of their Master's life and teachings, and, viewed in this light, as the basis of their own faith. Now it requires but a moderate acquaintance with human nature to feel convinced that they would not fabricate documents AS THE BASIS OF THEIR FAITH, and yet leave their own faith out of them, or at least leave out those points in their faith which most interested them. Neither would they select AS THE BASIS OF THEIR FAITH documents in which their favorite opinions nowhere appear, and reject those which contained them, as must have been the case if our Gospels were selected from other productions of the second century. Nor, if such A BASIS OF FAITH grew by accretion, is it credible that not one alone, but successive hands, should have added thereto, and never have put their cherished peculiarities into it.

"To suppose a somewhat parallel case, — certainly not a stronger one, — let us imagine that each division of Protestants had formed or selected for itself a basis of faith, in which none of its peculiarities could be found; that the Heidelberg and Westminster Catechisms, the Confession of Augsburg, or the Articles of Dordrecht and those of the Anglican Church, had offered no clew to the denominational tenets of their framers. Let us suppose that a BASIS OF MORALITY should for a century grow by accretion under the hands of pro- and anti-slavery parties, with no allusion to the subject of their dispute; or that amidst the controversies on the person of Christ or the vicarious atonement, the Gospels should have grown in a similar way, with no mention of these doctrines. Yet, unless my study of early history have deceived me, the aggregate improbability of all these suppositions does not exceed that of the idea, that the Gospels could grow by accretion during a century and a half of various and fierce conflicts between the Christians and their opponents, or among Christians themselves, with no allusion to their controversies, or to the opinions developed by them." — *Belief of the first three Centuries concerning Christ's Mission to the Underworld*, § XXV.

thoughtful reader can readily add illustrations suggested by his own observation. Now it is plain that the early Christians, who rode their own hobbies with vehemence, and who were engaged in controversies which to them seemed vital, would not, while fabricating the Master's history, have made him silent on the very topics to which they attributed most importance. Their own views would inevitably have been attributed to him. Let the reader, while perusing the following work, ask himself whether it be credible that the Gospels should have emanated from Christians in the second century, while omitting every trace of their controversies, of their peculiar opinions and phraseology, and with one exception of their customs; and not only this, but that they should have been ascribed to an authorship which rendered them utterly useless to Christian controversialists in the most serious contest which they waged.

Had they even in Apostolic times originated in Gentile lands, nothing but historical truthfulness could have saved them from making Jesus speak on topics uppermost with their intended readers, and from introducing subjects or phraseology unknown to Palestine.³

³ "The new hypothesis according to which these Gospels, with the Acts of the Apostles, were put together by unknown authors at the close of the first, or in the beginning of the second, century out of older narratives and increased by many additions, will hardly obtain the assent of unprejudiced investigators of history." — **Muensch**, *Dogmengeschichte*, II. § 34 (Vol. 1, pp. 258, 259). Muensch had given more attention to early Christian opinions than any other writer of his time. Moreover, the interpolation of Matthew (see pp. 86-89) from a document composed in what was then called Hebrew, confirms the uniform statement of early Christians that his Gospel was written in that language. This precludes any such supposition as that of Eichhorn.

INDIRECT TESTIMONY OF HISTORY

TO THE

GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPELS.

CHAPTER I.

CONTROVERSIAL WANTS OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS.

§ 1. *These Called for Jewish or Heathen Records of Jesus.*

CHRISTIANS, in spreading their Master's religion, alleged that he had been divinely commissioned. In proving this to an inquiring and candid mind they could in most cases use our Gospel narratives, because the internal evidence of their truthfulness would suffice.

In dealing with opponents, or with the indifferent, this evidence could not be used, since the Gospels were professedly written by Christians, and this very fact rendered them inadmissible as proof of Christian allegation. A heathen would naturally say: "Some of your own people wrote these books. If you wish me to credit your statements give me testimony from outside your ranks as to their correctness.¹ You must not expect me to believe

¹ "You distrust our writings and we distrust yours. We invent [you say] false accounts concerning Christ." — **Arnobius**, *Adv. Gentes*, **1**, 57. **Tertullian** likewise, after stating that the rulers and chief men of the Jews had extorted from Pilate the crucifixion of Jesus, adds: "He himself had predicted that they would do so. This would be of small account if the prophets also had not previously done it." — *Apol.* 21; *Opp.* p. 22 A, edit. Rigault; **1**, p. 89, edit. Gersdorf. The prediction by Jesus rested on Christian testimony; that of the prophets did not. Yet Tertullian may have meant: If you can attribute the prediction by Jesus to human sagacity, that by the prophets was too early to permit such explanation. Compare on this subject p. 37.

your own testimony in behalf of your own assertions." Christians were thus debarred from appeal to their Master's history in evidence of his supernatural mission.² They could cite moral teachings from the Gospels as approving themselves to the judgment, but this was all. Had the Gospels been fabricated for controversial purposes, or with dishonest intent, or by persons subsequent to the Apostles, they would inevitably have been ascribed to heathen or Jewish, not to Christian, authors.

² Christians, by their inability to cite the Gospels as evidence, were, when dealing not with right-minded inquirers, but with opponents or with the captious, debarred almost entirely from appealing to their Master's miracles. The true cause for this seems to have been overlooked by all writers, many of whom have supposed that it was due to their underrating the argument from miracles. The following is a concise statement of the conclusion to which many modern scholars have arrived. "Of the evidence from miracles he (Justin) scarcely takes any notice. . . . Miracles were regarded as of no rare occurrence, and they were supposed to be wrought by magical arts. Christianity might, then, have the support of miracles ; but this support would be regarded as of trifling importance by those who were believers in the reality of charms and sorcery. The miracle might be admitted ; but the evidence derived from it could be invalidated by ascribing it to the effects of magic. That the early Fathers and Apologists really felt a difficulty of this kind, there can be no doubt." — **Lamson**, *Church of the First Three Centuries*, p. 39.

The insufficiency of this explanation is obvious from the following considerations.

1. In the Pseudo-Heathen and Pseudo-Jewish records concerning Jesus which Christians fabricated, an important place is given to miracles.
2. Such Christians as trusted to, or were willing to use, these records, or who thought by the aid of prophecy to prove the statements of the Gospels, show no hesitation in appealing either to their Master's miracles or to those connected with his history. **Justin Martyr** says: "As to the prediction that our Christ should heal all diseases and wake the dead, hear what was said. It is as follows. 'At his appearing the lame shall leap as a deer ; the tongue of the dumb shall speak distinctly ; the blind shall see ; the lepers be cleansed ; the dead shall rise and walk about.' And that he did these things you can learn from the Acts prepared under Pontius Pilate." — *Apol.* 1, 48 ; *Opp.* 1, 232 C. **Tertullian** mentions the darkness at the crucifixion as miraculous. He says that it

§ 2. *They occasion Pseudo-Heathen and Pseudo-Jewish Documents.*

The average morality of Christians much exceeded that of heathens.³ Yet Christianity numbered among its adherents some who were unprincipled, or weak-principled. The number of these was comparatively small so long as Christians were in a decided minority, and could offer to converts neither place nor profit in a worldly sense. Yet a hundred and twenty years after Jesus taught, that is about A. D. 150, we find that some one had already supplied by fraud the want most annoying to their controversialists, namely, the lack of heathen testimony to the facts of their Master's life. At that date we find a document called the ACTS OF PILATE, and still later a professed LETTER FROM PILATE to Tiberius. Each of these documents is mentioned by but one writer during the first three centuries. Probably the chief use made of them and of subsequent forgeries was in the fourth century, when the two political parties which advocated

had been foretold, and tells the heathens, "You have, recorded in your archives, that accident to the world. . . . Pilate . . . announced at that time all those things concerning Christ to Tiberius."—*Apol.* 2i; *Opp.* 22 B C, edit. Rigault; 1, pp. 89, 90, edit. Gersdorf. Compare fuller statement in *Judaism*, p. 442. 3. Christians appealed to their own miracles. Justin says: "Many of our Christian men, adjuring in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, have healed and do now heal many possessed by demons throughout the world and in your city, [persons] who had not been healed by other exorcists and enchanters and physicians."—*Apol.* 2, 6; *Opp.* 1, 296–298. See also *Dial.* 11, cited in Note P, footnote 7, and compare in *Underworld Mission*, p. 78; 3d edit. pp. 74–75, the vehement challenge of Tertullian to the heathens, that they should test this power of the Christians. 4. Christian apologists, from the middle of the second to the middle of the third century, though in arguing with heathens they laid extravagant stress on predictions, yet laid none on those by their Master any more than on his miracles.

³ By heathens must not be understood the large, though in the second century decreasing, class of Gentile Monotheists who adhered to Judaism rather than to Christianity.

Christianity and Heathenism were nearly equal in strength. Before this date Christians had fewer of the unprincipled in their ranks, and fewer opportunities, even when so disposed, to give currency to any forgery in their own favor. Subsequently to the fourth century, when Christianity had the upper hand, and when strife was solely or chiefly between sections of its own followers, the authority of saints and martyrs outweighed that of heathens. Later forgeries were in the name of Christian leaders, and even the forgeries which already existed were correspondingly altered; so that the "Acts of Pilate" became the "Gospel of Nicodemus," while the "Letters of ABGARUS and Christ" became the "Letters of CHRIST and Abgarus"; those of SENECA and Paul being headed "Letters of PAUL and Seneca."

The Pseudo-Heathen and Pseudo-Jewish documents fabricated by Christians may be classified under four heads.

CLASS 1. *Pseudo-Records concerning Jesus.*

The most important of these was entitled ACTS OF PILATE. It professed to record the trial of Jesus before Pilate. During this trial, the persons cured by Jesus are represented as testifying to their cure. These miracles were thus attested, not by Christian writers who could be suspected of partiality, but by the records of a Roman court. The varying localities in which this document was used, the various prejudices to which it needed accommodation, and the various objections which it had to parry, caused alteration and re-alteration of its heading, as can be seen by appended quotations from various MSS.⁴ Copies of this document from two different texts will be found in the Appendix, Note A.

⁴ In the *Codex Monacensis* CXCH. (designated by Thilo as Monac. A.) the title reads, "Record of the things done to our Lord Jesus Christ, under Pontius Pilate, governor of Judea, — committed to writing in Hebrew by Nicodemus, ruler of the Synagogue of the Jews." — **Thilo**, *Cod. Apoc.* p. CXXVIII.

The *Codex Venetus* bears for a heading, "Narrative concerning the

Next after the above the most important fraud was a reputed LETTER or REPORT OF PILATE to Tiberius. This

estimable suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ and concerning his holy resurrection, written by a Jew named Ennaeus, which Nicodemus the Roman Toparch translated from the Hebrew language into the Romaic [that is, the common Greek] dialect." — **Thilo**, *Cod. Apoc.* p. CXXVI, compared with statement on p. CXXIX, ll. 11, 12. The word *estimable* is doubtless a somewhat late addition to the title, not earlier probably than the fourth century.

The Latin manuscript *Codex Parisiensis*, 1652, has prefixed to it the following: "In the name of the Lord. [Here] begins the Book concerning the deeds of our Lord [the] Savior; by Emaus, the Hebrew, *post*, after [or, according to] Nicodemus." — **Thilo**, *Cod. Apoc.* p. CXXXIX.

Paris A bears the simple heading, "Records concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, which were made under Pontius Pilate, governor of Judea." — **Thilo**, pp. CXXI, 489. A prologue to the same manuscript will be found further on in this note.

The preface to *Paris D* will be found in the Appendix, Note A, at the beginning of the document, and should be compared with the foregoing.

In the account of Christ's doings in the Underworld, which was subsequently added to the "Acts," is a statement that, "Joseph and Nicodemus immediately announced to the governor all these things which were said by the Jews in their Synagogue; and Pilate himself wrote all things which were done and said by the Jews concerning Jesus, and deposited all the words [thereof] in the public records of his Prætorium." — **Acts of Pilate**, *Lat. Vers.*, **Thilo**, *Cod. Apoc.* p. 788. This would fairly imply that the action of Pilate's court and the testimony given in it had been PREVIOUSLY recorded by himself.

The heading of *Codex B* of **Pilate's Epistle** blends that document with the Acts of Pilate, or implies that Pilate's letter merely accompanied the Memoirs. It reads as follows: "Memoirs [of what was done] touching our Lord Jesus Christ under Pontius Pilate . . . and also whatever Nicodemus narrated as done by the Jews and chief priests subsequently to the crucifixion and suffering of Jesus. This same Nicodemus wrote in Hebrew." — **Thilo**, *Cod. Apoc.* pp. 803 n-804 n.

The headings of several manuscripts represent this document as found at a later date in the Prætorium. In one (**Thilo**, *Cod. Apoc.* pp. CXXI, CXLII) the person finding it is not mentioned. In another (**Thilo**, *Cod. Apoc.* p. CXXXV) he is said to be the Emperor Theodosius (A. D. 379-395). In some this emperor is said to have found the account in

seems to have been less used than the preceding. It will hereafter be given in three different forms and from four different texts. See Appendix, Note B.

Yet another, first mentioned in the fourth century, is the CORRESPONDENCE OF ABGARUS WITH CHRIST, given in the Appendix, Note C.

One more document attributed to a heathen is the LETTER OF LENTULUS, not mentioned by any ancient writer. It resembles the preceding documents in nothing save its alleged heathen origin. They were intended chiefly to reproduce the facts of the Gospels. This letter was an effort to counteract the results of defective judgment and interpretation among Christians. It will be found in the Appendix, Note D.

An INTERPOLATION OF JOSEPHUS testifying to facts in the life of Jesus will be given in the Appendix, Note E.

Hebrew (*Thilo, Cod. Apoc.* p. CXXXIV, note 133, and p. CXLVI, ll. 1, 2), which would imply that it had been written by another hand and merely deposited in the public archives by Pilate.

The prologue of *Paris A* says that, "I Ananias [now] prætorian prefect, learned in the Law, according to the divine Scriptures, recognized our Lord Jesus Christ, coming to him by faith and being deemed worthy of his holy baptism. Searching the records made at that time, in the days of our master Jesus Christ, which the Jews laid away in the time of Pilate, I found these records in the Hebrew language—translating them also by the grace of God into Greek, that they may be recognized by all who call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ—in the seven-teenth year of the reign of our master Flavius Theodosius [A. D. 395], the sixth of Flavius Valentinianus, the ninth of the Indiction [a treasury cycle, according to Pierer's *Universal Lexicon*, of fifteen years]. All you who read copy into other books." — **Thilo**, pp. 490, 492.

A Preface to the Latin MS. *Cod. Paris.* [No.] 1652 (*Thilo*, pp. 491, 493, 495) agrees in outline, though not in detail, with the foregoing Prologue. Its writer calls himself "Emaus, a Hebrew, a teacher of the law among the Hebrews," but does not claim official capacity as prefect or otherwise.

Additional variations in the heading or Prologue are cited by **Thilo**; but the foregoing will indicate the difficulties and perplexities which constantly presented themselves to those who were propagating a fraudulent narrative.

CLASS 2. *Pseudo-Records concerning Christians.*

In the fourth century Eusebius mentions a document of which, under the heading EDESSENE ARCHIVES OR PSEUDO-THADDEUS, an account will be found in the Appendix, Note F. It testifies to miracles of Thaddeus.

An alleged CORRESPONDENCE OF SENECA WITH PAUL, manifesting his respect for the latter, has come down to us, for which see Appendix, Note G.

An alleged LETTER OF MARCUS ANTONINUS testifying to the miraculous result of prayer by a Christian legion will be given in the Appendix, Note H.

CLASS 3. *Pseudo-Predictions.*

In the second century Christians had a mania for finding predictions concerning Jesus in the Old Testament.⁵ Inability to make these plain to others prompted somewhat later a forgery called the ASCENSION OF ISAAH, wherein the prophet is made to speak more plainly than in his genuine writings. It is described in Note I.

PREDICTIONS BY SIBYLLA concerning Jesus, quoted or mentioned in Note J, were also an effort to fabricate prophetic evidence. On HYSTASPES see *Judaism*, pp. 459, 460.

CLASS 4. *Pseudo-Teaching.*

Lactantius quotes views common among Christians from HERMES TRISMEGISTUS, "*Mercury Thrice Greatest*," concerning which document see Note K.

§ 3. *Alleged Uncanonical Gospels in the Second Century.*

An erroneous supposition exists, that in the second century Gospels were afloat, out of which the four now in use were formed or selected. To avoid distracting the reader's attention this subject is deferred.⁶

⁵ See Ch. III. § 12 and *Judaism at Rome*, pp. 344 - 348.

⁶ See Appendix, Note L.

CHAPTER II.

CONTROVERSIES.

§ 1. *Between Jewish and Gentile Christians.*

IN the Apostolic Age, from the moment when Christianity numbered Gentiles among its converts, a controversy sprang up between these and their Judaizing brethren. The Gentile Christians were regarded by the latter as aspiring to the benefit of God's promises, while shrinking from the burden of his law. The difficulty must frequently have amounted to non-intercourse between the two schools of Christians, the separation being as sharp as if they did not recognize a common master. Peter on one occasion visited a Gentile Monotheist of blameless and benevolent life, of whose benevolence the Jews received no small share. The object of the visit was to communicate Christian truth, yet Peter's Judaizing brethren took him sharply to task for so doing.¹

Outside of Judea the dissension as to whether Gentile Christians must adopt Jewish customs caused the sending of a delegation to the Apostles at Jerusalem. Here the dispute was animated,² but resulted in a decision not to require of the Gentile brethren obedience to the laws of Moses, though it did require of them obedience to a precept in Genesis,³ as also abstinence from meat offered to idols and adherence to Jewish and Christian views of the relation between the sexes.⁴ The omission

¹ "Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised and didst eat with them." — **Acts 11**, 3.

² **Acts 15**, 7.

³ See Ch. IV. § 3.

⁴ Among heathens the view seems to have prevailed, that where there was a mutual consent between a man and woman no wrong was done. This view can hardly have been universal among the better class of heathens, yet it evidently prevailed to an extent which required an

of any requirement as to truthfulness, honesty, and other items of rectitude is due to the fact doubtless that no question was raised concerning these. Both parties were, in respect to them, of one mind.

Paul regarded the ceremonial law as not binding, and the eating of meat offered to an idol as a matter of indifference unless when it might mislead others, or in cases where the person who ate deemed it wrong.⁵ He taught that Gentiles could become Christians without observing circumcision or the sabbath;⁶ and it is possible that

express injunction on the subject, an injunction for which Paul would have been equally zealous as his more Judaizing brethren. Some of the Gentile Christians may have held laxer ideas of morality.

⁵ "Now as touching things offered unto idols. . . . Some with a conviction that the idol is a real being, eat even yet as of something sacrificed to this being, and their conscience being weak is polluted. . . . We gain nothing by eating and lose nothing by not eating. . . . If any one should see you who have [as you think] knowledge, reclining at an idol-feast, will not his conscience because of his weakness be emboldened to eat idol sacrifices, and your weak brother will be lost as the result of your knowledge." — **1 Cor. 8**, 1-11. "Whatever is sold in the market that eat without asking questions for the sake of conscience. . . . And if one who is an unbeliever inviteth you to a feast and you choose to go, eat whatever is set before you without asking any questions for the sake of conscience. But if any one say to you, This has been offered in sacrifice to an idol, do not eat of it on account of him that showed you this." — **1 Cor. 10**, 25-28. *Noyes' trans.* "Let not him that eateth despise him who forbears eating; and let not him who forbears eating judge him that eateth: for God hath received him. . . . I know, and am persuaded as a Christian, that there is nothing unclean of itself; but to him that esteemeth anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean. . . . And he that doubteth is condemned if he eat, because he eateth not with conviction [of its lawfulness]: for whatsoever is not [done] with confidence [in its lawfulness] is sinful." — **Rom. 14**, 3, 14, 23.

⁶ "For in Christianity neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision." — **Galat. 5**, 6; **6**, 15. "One man esteemeth one day above another: another ESTEEMETH EVERY DAY ALIKE. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." — **Rom. 14**, 5. "I went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas [more than seventeen years after becoming a Christian], taking with me also Titus. I went up for the purpose of

some of his arguments, if rigidly carried out, might have seemed to absolve Jews also from these observances. A consequence was that on his last visit to Jerusalem his fellow Apostles and more liberal friends feared violence towards him at the hands of his Christian but Judaizing brethren.⁷

In periods of political disturbance which caused more than usual alienation between Jews and Gentiles, this controversy became very bitter, intensifying the antagonism between the two branches of the Christian community, and increasing the number of localities where this antagonism amounted to non-intercourse.⁸

The violent advocates of ritual observance may not even in Jerusalem have been conscientious observers of what they advocated,⁹ yet the control which they exer-

a disclosure, and I communicated to them the Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, — privately, however, to the more prominent, — that I might not run, or have run, in vain. Neither was Titus, a Gentile who was with me, compelled to be circumcised; though [an effort to that effect was made] because of false brethren privately introduced, that they might spy out our freedom in Christianity for the purpose of enslaving us, to whom I did not even for an hour give in.” — **Galat. 2, 1-5.**

The words translated, “for the purpose of a disclosure,” are frequently rendered, “in accordance with a revelation.” A different translation is sometimes given also to the remarks concerning Titus; but the sharpness of collision is not affected by any translation.

⁷ “You see, brother, how many myriads of Jewish believers there are, and they are all zealots for the Law. But they have been informed that you teach all Jews among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children, nor to walk after the [Jewish] customs. What then is to be done? The multitude will assuredly come together; for they will hear that you have come. Do therefore what we advise you. We have four men who have a vow on them. Take these and purify yourself with them, and pay the expenses for them, that they may shave their heads; and all will know that those things of which they have been informed concerning you are nothing, but that you yourself also walk in observance of the Law.” — **Acts 21, 20-24.**

⁸ See *Judaism at Rome*, pp. 254, 255, and on 266 the text prefixed to note 30.

⁹ “Now therefore why do you provoke the anger of God, by putting a

cised is evinced by the fact, that, in a locality outside of Judea, not only Peter was temporarily overborne by their vehemence, but also Barnabas, who, though a Jew, had been born and brought up in a Gentile locality.¹⁰

Of all this controversy and conflict, not a trace appears in the Gospels. Had they, instead of being honest histories of earlier events in Judea, been the fancy sketches which some have supposed, — had they originated in the midst of this struggle, or had they grown by accretion under the hands of those who were engaged in the dispute, or living among the disputants, it seems morally impossible that the Master should not have been made to say one word on the subject at issue.

§ 2. *Between Jews and Christians.*

This controversy may be divided into two parts: 1. Was the Ceremonial Law essential to salvation? 2. Was Jesus the Christ?

The first of these questions brought out essentially the same points and counterpoints as the discussion in the preceding section. Christians affirmed that Abel, Enoch, Noah, and others had been acceptable to God without being circumcised, and therefore that circumcision could not be essential to his approval; that Abraham had been acceptable without observing the sabbath, and that its observance therefore was not binding.¹¹

yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?" — **Acts 15**, 10, *Noyes' trans.*

¹⁰ "When Peter came to Antioch, I withstood him to his face, because he was to be blamed. For, before the arrival from James of certain [Judaizers], he ate with the Gentiles: but when they were come, he withdrew, and separated himself, fearing those of the circumcision. And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation." — **Galat. 2**, 11–13.

¹¹ "We say that faith was reckoned to Abraham as righteousness. At what date was it so reckoned? After he was circumcised? or when he was yet uncircumcised? It was . . . while he was uncircumcised." — **Rom. 4**, 9, 10. The intended inference is that if Abraham did not need circumcision as a means of becoming acceptable to God, neither do other

The most animated opponents of the Jews were the semi-Jewish Christians, who, because they shared largely

men. "Let no one then call you to account about food or drink, or a feast-day, or a new moon, or sabbaths ; which are a shadow of the things to come." — **Coloss. 2**, 16, 17, *Noyes' trans.* "Why do you turn to the weak and beggarly rudiments whereunto you desire again to be in bondage ? You observe DAYS and months." — **Gal. 4**, 9, 10. The meaning is made plain by the following. "The new moon and SABBATHS I cannot away with." — **Is. 1**, 13. Compare note 6.

Justin Martyr argues from the predecessors of Abraham against circumcision and from the predecessors of Moses against sabbath-keeping. "Have you any other blame to lay against us, my friends . . . except that we do not like your ancestors circumcise our flesh, nor like you keep sabbaths οὐδὲ ὡς ὑμεῖς σαββαρίζωμεν. . . . This is what we wonder at, said Trypho . . . that you who profess εὐσεβεῖν to monotheize practically . . . differ IN NOTHING from the Gentiles as to your way of life in that you observe neither feasts nor sabbaths." — *Dial.* 10. "The law given in Horeb [Justin answers] is antiquated and concerned you only." — *Dial.* 11. Further on he argues, "It was on account of your wickedness and that of your fathers, as I before said, that God commanded you to observe the sabbath for a sign." — *Dial.* 21. "Observe the material universe, it is not idle, neither does it keep sabbaths. Remain as you were born ; for if there was no need of circumcision before Abraham, nor of sabbath-keeping and feasts and offerings before Moses, neither is there now." — *Dial.* 23. "Trypho answered, Why do you select what you please from the prophetic writings and make no mention of the express injunctions to keep the sabbath ? . . . Because [says Justin] I supposed that you did and do understand that if you are commanded throughout all the prophets to observe these same things which Moses commanded, it is on account of your hardness of heart and thanklessness. . . . Else as regards the Just Men, who were well pleasing to God, prior to the time of Moses and Abraham, and who neither observed circumcision nor the sabbath ; why did he not teach THEM to observe these things ?" — *Dial.* 27. Compare Ch. VII. § 6. "As therefore circumcision took its rise from Abraham, and the sabbath and the offerings and the feasts from Moses, and were instituted, as has been proved, because of the hardness of your people's heart ; so it is necessary they should cease." — *Dial.* 43. "If any one should ask you, seeing that Enoch and Noah and their children and several others, who were neither circumcised nor observed sabbaths, did please God, what can be the reason why God after so many generations, by other leaders and the promulgation of other laws,

in Jewish views, were the more anxious to make prominent those points in which they differed from them.

Of all this acrimonious discussion nothing appears in the Gospels. None of the points made prominent by it are explained or enforced by the Master.

In behalf of the second position, that Jesus was the

did vouchsafe to justify the posterity of Abraham until Moses by circumcision and those that succeeded Moses by circumcision and other precepts, that is the sabbath and sacrifices and ashes and offerings . . . unless you can prove that it was as I said before, lest you should give yourselves up to idolatry and be unmindful of the true God . . . unless this be the case, God will be calumniated with not having the knowledge of future events, and with acting partially and inconsistently because he did not teach all men [compare Ch. VII. § 5] to know and practise the same just and righteous laws." — *Dial.* 92.

"But that God gave circumcision not as a fulfilment of righteousness, but for a sign that the race of Abraham might continue discernible, we learn from Scripture itself. . . . And that man was not justified by these, but that they were given to the people as a sign is evident, because Abraham himself, without circumcision and without observance of sabbaths, believed God; and it was reckoned to him for righteousness, and he was called the friend of God. But Lot also, without circumcision, was led out from Sodom obtaining the salvation which is from God. Also Noah, pleasing God when uncircumcised, received the world's expanse in its second age. But Enoch also, pleasing God without circumcision, performed, though only a man, a mission [see *Judaism*, p. 486, note 7] to angels. . . . But all the remaining multitude also of those who were just before Abraham, and of those patriarchs who were before Moses, were accounted just without the before-mentioned [observance of circumcision and sabbath] and without the Mosaic Law." — *Irenæus, cont. Hæres.* 4, 16, 1, 2.

The author of the *Epistle to Diognetus*, in the early part of the third century says of the Jews: "But as to their horror of certain meats, and their superstition concerning sabbaths and their boasting about circumcision, and their pretended observation of fasts and new moons, which are all of them ridiculous and not worth speaking of, I [do not] deem that you need instruction from me. For what right has any one to accept some of the things created by God for man's use as if they were properly created, and to refuse others as useless and superfluous? and what IMPIETY is there not in falsely charging God with prohibiting the performance of good on the sabbath?" — c. 4. Cp. Note A. § 1.

Other quotations bearing on this subject will be found in Ch. IV. § 1.

Messiah, the arguments were almost exclusively based upon interpretations, or misinterpretations, or misapplications of passages in the Old Testament, a subject to which we shall hereafter return.¹²

§ 3. *Between Heathens and Christians.*

1. A prime point of this controversy was the question whether there were but one God,¹³ or whether there were many. This was blended with the question whether the universe had been created, or at least formed into its present shape, by the Deity, or whether the deities were of subsequent origin to the universe. If the universe had been created or formed by Divine power, then the harmony of its design implied that it was the work of one mind, not of many. The question as to the existence of but one God had been fiercely debated before the appearance of Christianity, and it is plain, from the persecution of Monotheists and of Christians¹⁴ subse-

¹² See Ch. III. § 12.

¹³ "We Christians are simply adorers of the Highest King and Ruler with Christ as our *magistro*, teacher." — **Arnobius**, 1, 27. **Theophilus** argues that if a ship be seen steering steadily to its harbor, the presence of a pilot on board who guides her becomes obvious. "Thus we are compelled to perceive that God is a pilot of the universe." — *Ad Autol.* 1, 5; *Opp.* p. 16 B, edit. Otto; p. 340 D E, edit. Maran. Compare the application to God of the term Pilot by Jews and Stoics in *Judaism*, p. 51.

¹⁴ Prosecutions for unbelief were a favorite resort of the Roman aristocracy against their opponents, subsequently at least to A. D. 14, if not earlier. A strong impetus was given to these accusations after the patrician rebellion of October 18, A. D. 31. During this rebellion the aristocracy had murdered many prominent men of the popular party. When prosecuted by relatives of the murdered individuals they defended themselves by counter charges of unbelief (see *Judaism at Rome*, pp. 8, 534); and the professional prosecutors whom they hired seem in many cases to have been paid, not by the individuals who employed them, but from the senatorial treasury (Dio Cass. 58, 14, quoted in *Judaism*, p. 532), an indication that the remainder of the senatorial party were making com-

quently, that this debate had lost none of its earnestness or of its acrimony.¹⁵

Connected with the question, whether there were a Supreme Being, the creator and ruler of this world, came other queries. Was he corporeal or incorporeal?¹⁶ What

mon cause with them. A Roman consul, wealthy and cultured, a near friend of the elder Pliny and relative of Caligula, was kept for seven years in his house by charges of unbelief. See *Judaism*, p. 211, note 85. At the date of this event (A. D. 31-37) Christianity can hardly have reached Rome, but its adherents equally with other Monotheists must have been exposed to these prosecutions from the moment that they obtained foothold in the imperial city.

¹⁵ Already in B. C. 76, when a monotheistic document imposed on the Roman Senate had given a new impetus to discussion, Cicero represents himself as present where one friend ridicules and burlesques monotheism while another, who had under the guise of stoicism upheld it, insists on another discussion of the subject, since it is *pro aris et focis*, "for the dearest of human possessions." — *Cicero, de Nat. Deor.* 3, (40), 94.

¹⁶ Heathens believed in corporeal gods. *Tatian* says of the heathens, "Some hold God to be corporeal, but I deem him incorporeal." — *Orat.* 25; p. 104 C, edit. Otto; p. 265 B, edit. Maran. When monotheistic discussion in B. C. 76 received an impulse at Rome (see *Judaism*, p. 142), *Cicero* makes his speaker on the heathen side allege that the existence of a god without a body *intelligi non potest*, "cannot be understood, for he must NECESSARILY lack perception, understanding, pleasure." — *De Nat. Deorum*, 1, (12), 30. "For you know no pleasure which does not originate from the body." — *De Nat. Deorum*, 1, (39), 111. And so late as the tenth century we find the statement of one who had listened to an argument that God was a spirit. "It appears that God is nothing at all, since he has no head, no eyes." — *Mosheim, Ecc. Hist.* 2, p. 137, note 6, by Murdock. If God pervaded the universe, as Monotheists and Stoics believed, the question whether he were corporeal involved the question whether two bodies could coexist in the same space. An opinion of the Stoics (*Philosophumena*, 1, 21) quoted in *Judaism*, p. 44, may have had either the bearing there suggested on the resurrection, or may have been an affirmation that God, since he pervaded the universe, was not material but spiritual. Compare also (in Appendix, Note M, footnote 21) the argument of *Athenagoras* against the existence of two or more (independent?) gods, part of which is *perhaps* based on an assumption of their corporeal character.

was his form? ¹⁷ Did he — the question was vital — take interest in human morality? ¹⁸

Of this debate nothing appears in the Gospels. The recognition of one God is assumed. The teacher of Christianity supplies his apostles with no arguments on the subject.

2. The second point to be proved was that Jesus had been authorized and commissioned by the Supreme Being. Christians, as already explained, could not on this point appeal to their Gospels except when dealing with right-minded inquirers. They had, however, in the character of their Master's religion a great advantage, for in the countries where monotheism had spread there was a large number of right-minded men, who, without being inquirers or opponents, were likely to side with morality and worthy conceptions of God, as against the follies and immoralities of heathenism. When the writer of the *Oratio ad Græcos* affirmed (c. 5), "Our commander does not wish strength of body, nor beauty of form, nor vaunting of noble birth, but a pure soul walled around with righteousness," he must have found many who would at least speak respectfully of such as aimed in this direction, and who would defend them with more or less decision against attacks by the unworthy.

In dealing with opponents, Christians appealed to the

¹⁷ Cicero makes his heathen speaker argue (see *Judaism*, Ch. III. note 11) for the human form of gods as the most excellent with which we are acquainted. The Stoics held that he was spherical. The two positions on which this belief rested — namely, that the universe was spherical and that God pervaded it — were borrowed from Monotheists. It is possible also that some Monotheists believed that God was spherical in form, and that their anticipations of future likeness to God gave rise to a belief that the resurrection body would be spherical. See belief of Origenian monks mentioned in Huet's *Origeniana*, 2, 2, 9; Origen's Works, edit. Lommatszsch, 23, pp. 143-150; edit. de la Rue, 4, (Appendix) pp. 200-215.

Heathens treated a spherical God as necessarily DEVOID OF HEAD, and therefore of intelligence. See *Judaism*, p. 42, note 4.

¹⁸ See Ch. V. note 5, and *Judaism*, cc. II. note 3, X. note 53.

Old Testament¹⁹ for predictions of certain facts in their Master's life which heathens admitted, or which they were not in position to deny, and argued or assumed that, because these facts had been predicted, a Divine provision had been made for their Master's ministry, a provision which would not have been made unless he had been commissioned by God.²⁰

In Rome, however, we find two appeals by Justin Martyr to the Acts of Pilate, and in Africa one by Tertullian to Pilate's Report, in proof of facts in the Master's life. Indirect evidence implies that both documents must have been more used in Syria and Asia Minor than at the West.²¹ The letter of Abgarus to Christ containing similar spurious evidence must also have found some currency at the East.²²

The discussion, like many others in which the feelings of disputants are excited, was largely diverted to side issues.

3. A third point, which perhaps occupied more space and excited more feeling than any other, was concerning the heathen deities or demons. Christians were brought into constant collision with the worship of these beings, and were tortured and put to death because of not worshipping them. Many, instead of discrediting their existence, seem to have been equally persuaded of it as the heathens themselves. They regarded them as super-

¹⁹ The author of the *Cohortatio ad Græcos* (close of ch. 13) offers to take a copy from the Jewish synagogue, so that no suspicion of Christian interpolation could find place. *Theophilus* says: "All the prophets spoke things harmonious and accordant with each other, and proclaimed beforehand what should happen to the whole world. The issue of the predicted and now accomplished events can teach the lovers of learning, or rather the lovers of truth, that the things predicted through them [the prophets] concerning ages and times before the flood, from the time when the world was created until now, are true." — *Ad Autol.* 3, 17; *Opp.* p. 230, edit. Otto; pp. 390–391, edit. Maran.

²⁰ See Ch. III. § 12.

²¹ See Appendix, Notes A and B.

²² See Appendix, Note C.

natural, malicious beings who had got mankind into their power, and who were the authors of all the evil in the world.²³

Heathens charged the Christians with having offended these gods, and having thereby prompted them to inflict miseries on mankind.²⁴

4. Closely connected with the foregoing was the subject of idolatry, the views of which will be hereafter given.²⁵

5. The comparative antiquity of Christianity and heathenism was not a little debated. The points involved in this part of the discussion were various and in some cases deserving of but little attention.²⁶ In other cases the question was handled with more judgment. Arnobius (*adv. Gent.* 2, 72) takes ground that the antiquity of God was in no wise affected by the date at which men began to show him due homage. Theophilus alleges the superior antiquity of Christianity by treating Moses as a part of it.²⁷

²³ See Ch. III. § 1.

²⁴ "I have found some who were very wise in their own opinion, who raved and raged and declared as if under the prompting of an oracle that since the Christians existed in the world the earth was perishing and the human race was attacked by evils of manifold kinds; that the gods themselves, the usual rites being neglected wherewith they were wont to inspect our affairs, had been driven away from the earth." — **Arnobius**, *adv. Gentes*, 1, 1.

²⁵ See Ch. III. § 2.

²⁶ Thus we find a statement (Lactantius, 2, 14; Vol. 1, col. 327 A) that Bacchus cannot have invented the vine, since Noah's drunkenness (*Gen.* 9, 21) implies that he, an older than Bacchus, was acquainted with wine. The fact that he and his family alone survived the flood was regarded as proving him to be older than the heathen deities.

²⁷ "Our prophet and servant of God, Moses, narrating concerning the origin of the world, related in what manner the flood took place over the earth." — **Theophilus**, *ad Autol.* 3 18; *Opp.* pp. 230–232 A, edit. Otto; p. 391 B, edit. Maran. After giving the sequence of Egyptian kings from the time of Moses, **Theophilus** adds: "So that the Hebrews are shown to be older than the cities celebrated among the Egyptians,

Again: Moses was recognized as older than Plato or Socrates, and from Moses the latter were by many (compare Ch. VIII. note 14) affirmed to have obtained their ideas. The Sibylline verses were alleged to be older than even Homer, and on this point the Christians had a controversial advantage; for the Roman Senate had deposited in its archives as an authoritative document the professed work of Sibylla, which predicted that Homer would copy from her, and which also predicted that Æneas, a Monotheist, would found the Latin kingdom, thus making monotheism the original religion of Italy and the gods of Rome a subsequent invention.

6. Heathens charged Christians that by their offences they caused the gods to inflict manifold plagues on mankind.²⁸ To this, the answers were various. Some, without denying the allegation, or at least without denying the whole of it, argued that this showed the contemptible character of the gods.²⁹ Others alleged that the earth was growing old, and could not be so fruitful in its old age as in its youth.³⁰ One writer evinced from history that the calamities to which heathens referred were equally

who [the Hebrews] are OUR FOREFATHERS, from whom also we have the sacred books, which are older than all [other] compositions, as we have previously said." — *Ad Autol.* 3, 20; *Opp.* pp. 238–240 C D, edit. Otto; p. 392 D, edit. Maran.

²⁸ See note 24.

²⁹ "Although the whole host of demons and spirits of that class be subject to us, yet like wicked slaves they mingle contumacy with fear, and delight to injure those whom they otherwise fear, since fear inspires hatred; . . . those whom they war against at a distance, they beseech when near." — *Tertullian, Apol.* 27. See also views of Justin, as given by Kaye, in Ch. III. note 2.

³⁰ The belief that the earth was growing old and in various ways degenerate seems to have been held by Jews before the Christian era, from whom it was copied by the Stoics. See *Judaism at Rome*, p. 57, note 50. In a Jewish work of the second century we are told: "Since greater evils than those which thou hast now seen happen, shall happen hereafter. For in proportion as the world grows old and infirm, in the same proportion shall the calamities of those, who dwell therein, be multiplied." — *2 Esdras*, Laurence's Vers. 14, 15, 16; cp. com. vers. 16, 17.

prevalent before as since the appearance of Christianity;³¹ another appeals to the Sibylline Oracles (the authority which the Roman Senate had recognized) in proof that the Supreme God controls such matters;³² the former calls attention to the fact that the gods gave no law to men, and asks why, therefore, they should be angry at non-obedience.³³ The same writer tells the heathens that their own statements of Divine doings would be a much surer reason for Divine anger.³⁴

7. Heathens did not regard man as created by any of their gods. Christians alleged that he had been made by the Supreme Being, or by his Logos, or wisdom, which they personified, or by the joint action of both. **Theophilus** says (*ad Autol.* 2, 18): "The circumstances attending man's creation exceed [any capacity of] narration." See also in Appendix, Note M, the text prefixed to footnote 17.

Of all the points raised and discussed in this controversy not one appears in the Gospels. Considering the prominence which they held during the contest, it seems impossible that the Gospels, if at that date in course of formation, should have borne no traces of them.

§ 4. *Between Catholics and Gnostics.*

The Gnostics were two bodies of Gentile Christians originating about A. D. 140, in localities widely distant from each other, and of whom each branch was in many respects intensely unlike the other. Both these branches

³¹ Arnobius, 1, 3, 4.

³² Theophilus, *ad Autol.* 2, 3.

³³ "By these [deities] nothing was ever appointed or sanctioned. . . . What justice, therefore, is there that the heavenly gods should for various causes become angry at those to whom they never deigned to show themselves, nor gave or laid down any laws?"—**Arnobius**, 7, 7. Compare the statement of **Commodianus**: "You pray to so many gods . . . from whom there is not in the [whole] earth a [single] law."—*Instruct.* 8, 11, 8, 9.

³⁴ Arnobius, 3, 11.

of Gnostics held that the Jewish God was a different being from the God who sent Christ.³⁵ With both branches the Catholic³⁶ Christians had for more than half a century a violent and embittered contest.

Of this Gnostic controversy nothing appears in the Gospels. Jesus is not made to utter anything touching it.

CHAPTER III.

OPINIONS OF CHRISTIANS.

§ 1. *Concerning Heathen Deities.*

So soon as Christianity commenced spreading outside of Judea it came in contact with heathen belief and customs.¹ Heathens taught the existence of numerous deities, who even before the Christian era had by some Jews been regarded as devoid of existence, while others deemed them to be evil spirits. Some questions as to the light in which God was thought to view any worship of these deities will be considered in the next section.

³⁵ See *Judaism at Rome*, pp. 331 – 336 ; also the second and third volumes of Norton's *Genuineness*. The Gnostics originated during, or immediately after, a protracted and violent war between Jews and Romans. Their existence was due to the feelings engendered by this war.

³⁶ By Catholics must not be understood any particular denomination, but merely the main body of Christians, who regarded their God as identical with the Jewish one, but were variously divided on other points.

¹ At Lystra (Acts 14, 11 – 18) we find heathens on the point of sacrificing to Paul and Barnabas, whom they termed Mercury and Jupiter. At Athens (Acts 17, 16 – 18) Paul is stirred by the idolatry which he witnesses, and is charged with advocating foreign divinities. At Ephesus (Acts 19, 24 – 41) the shrine-makers raise a tumult, and Paul in his letters to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 10, 14, 20, 21 ; 2 Cor. 6, 16) finds need of directions concerning meat offered to these beings. Compare citations in Ch. II, note 5.

In the second century many Christians, as already said, attributed nearly all evils to the rule of these deities. Part of their ideas may have been borrowed from Jews, and some may have been superadded by themselves, but their vehement expressions of feeling show that their minds were filled with thoughts of the contest waged by themselves against these enemies of God and man. The appended passages of Lamson and Kaye² give certainly no

² "God, he [Justin] very gravely tells us, having formed man, committed him, together with all sublunary things, to the care of angels, whose too susceptible natures caused them to trespass with the frail daughters of earth ; and hence sprang the race of demons. These demons did not long remain idle. They mixed in all human affairs, and soon obtained universal sway in the world. They deceived men by arts of magic, frightened them with apparitions, caused them to see visions and dream dreams, perpetrated crimes, and performed numerous feats and prodigies, which the fabulous poets of antiquity, in their ignorance, transferred to the gods. They presided over the splendid mythology of the Heathen, instituted sacrifices, and regaled themselves with the blood of victims, of which they began to be in want after they became subject to passions and lusts. They were the authors of all heresies, fraud, and mischief. Their malice was chiefly directed against the Savior ; whose success, they well knew, would be attended with their overthrow : and therefore, long before his appearance on earth, they tasked their ingenuity to defeat the purpose of his mission. They invented tales about the gods of the nations, corresponding to the descriptions of him given by the Hebrew prophets ; hoping so to fill the minds of men with 'lying vanities,' that the writings which predicted his advent might be brought into discredit, and all that related to him pass for fable. For example, when they heard the prophecy of Moses, **Gen. 49, 10, 11,** — 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come ; and he shall be the expectation of the nations, binding his foal to the vine, and washing his garment in the blood of the grape,' — they got up, as a counterpart, the story of Bacchus, the son of Jupiter and inventor of the grape, and introduced wine into the celebration of his mysteries, and represented him as finally ascending into heaven. They were exceedingly sagacious, but, with all their astuteness, found some difficulty in interpreting parts of the above-mentioned prediction of Jacob. The prophet had not expressly said whether he who should come was to be the son of God, or the son of man ; nor whether he was to make use of

exaggerated picture of the position assigned by Justin to these supposed malevolent beings. The same holds true of a statement by the latter concerning Tatian.³ The

the foal spoken of while he remained on earth, or only during his ascent into heaven. To get over this difficulty, these crafty demons, in addition to the story of Bacchus, trumped up that of Bellerophon, who was a man born of men; and who, as they tell us, mounted on his Pegasus, ascended into heaven. The prediction of Isaiah relating to the virgin (7, 14), they said, was fulfilled in Perseus; that in Ps. 19, 5, 'strong as a giant to run a race' (which Justin seems to have applied to the Messiah), in Hercules, who was a man of strength, and traversed the whole earth. Again: when they found it predicted that he should cure diseases and raise the dead, they appealed to the case of Æsculapius, who also recalled the dead to life, and was taken up into heaven. . . . They 'hover about the beds of the dying, on the watch to receive the departing soul.' The spirits of just men, and prophets equally with others, he assures us, fall under their power; of which we have an instance in the case of Samuel, whose soul was evoked by the witch of Endor. Hence, he continues, we pray, in the hour of death, that we may be preserved from the power of demons." — **Lamson**, *Church of the First Three Centuries*, pp. 43-45.

"Actuated [**Justin** says] by a spirit of unrelenting hostility against God and against goodness, the demons instigated all the persecutions to which not only the Christians, but the virtuous among the heathen were exposed. They also excited the Jews to put Christ to death. They were the authors of the calumnious accusations brought against the Christians. To their suggestions were to be traced the different heresies which had arisen in the Church; the unjust and wicked laws which had been enacted in different states; in short, they were the authors of all evil existing in the world. Among these evil Angels the serpent who deceived Eve, called also in Scripture Satan, and the Devil, was pre-eminent; who, together with the other apostate Angels, and with wicked men, will be consigned to eternal flames at the consummation of all things.

"With respect to demoniacal possessions, Justin says, that the Christians, by abjuring demons in the name of Christ, were enabled to work cures which the Jewish and heathen exorcists had in vain attempted." — **John [Kaye]** Bishop of Lincoln, *Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr*, pp. 109, 110.

³. "The sole object of the Demons [**Tatian** holds] is to lead men away from the truth. With this view they invented the Arts of Divination,

author of the Clementines is equally unmistakable in treating them as the source of almost all evil.⁴ The views of Tertullian as given by Kaye⁵ are not exagger-

and set up the Oracles. They employ every artifice to prevent the soul from rising upwards, and pursuing its way to heaven. . . . One great object of the demons is, to persuade man that whatever happens to him, either of good or evil, whether he falls sick or recovers from sickness, is owing to their agency. To this end they invented amulets, philters, and charms, in order that man might be induced to trust to them, or, at least, to the properties of matter, rather than to his Creator." — **John [Kaye]** Bishop of Lincoln, *Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr*, pp. 203, 204. The demons "do not heal, but by artifice lead mortals captive." — **Tatian**, *Orat.* 18; *Opp.* p. 82 C, edit. Otto; p. 259 D E, edit. Maran.

⁴ In the **Clementine Homilies** (8, 12–19) it is said that the angels who inhabited the region nearest the earth took to themselves earthly brides. Their children were the giants, by whose misdeeds the earth was polluted; they were swept away by the flood. To mankind, after the flood, the absence of former excellence rendered a law necessary, which (cp. p. 191, note 5) was given through an angel. "But you as yet ignore the law; for any one doing homage to demons, or sacrificing, or partaking of their table, becoming [thus] their bondsman, partakes — like [others] under wicked masters — of all the punishment which they inflict. . . . You ought to know that demons have no authority over any one unless he first becomes a participant at their table." — 8, 20. See also *Judaism at Rome*, p. 362, note 12.

⁵ **Tertullian** "asserts, in the first place, that there are spiritual substances, or material spirits: this is not denied even by the philosophers. These spiritual or angelic substances were originally created to be the ministers of the Divine will; but some were betrayed into transgression. Smitten with the beauty of the daughters of men, they descended from heaven [compare Book of Enoch, c. 7, and *Judaism at Rome*, p. 484], and imparted many branches of knowledge, revealed to themselves, but hitherto hidden from mankind: the properties of metals — the virtues of herbs — the powers of enchantment — and the arts of divination and astrology. Out of complaisance also to their earthly brides, they communicated the arts which administer to female vanity: of polishing and setting precious stones — of dyeing wool — of preparing cosmetics. [Compare Book of Enoch, c. 8.]

"From these corrupt angels sprang demons; a still more corrupt race

ated, though they may need slight correction from other passages.⁶ He has also given the views of Clement of

of spirits, whose actuating principle is hostility against man, and whose sole object is to accomplish his destruction. This they attempt in various ways ; but as they are invisible to the eye, their mischievous activity is known only by its effects. They nip the fruit in the bud ; they blight the corn ; and, as through the tenuity and subtlety of their substance they can operate on the soul as well as the body, while they inflict diseases on the one, they agitate the other with furious passions and ungovernable lust. By the same property of their substance they cause men to dream. But their favorite employment is, to draw men off from the worship of the true God to idolatry. For this purpose they lurk within the statues of deceased mortals ; practising illusions upon weak minds, and seducing them into a belief in the divinity of an idol. In their attempts to deceive mankind, they derive great assistance from the rapidity with which they transport themselves from one part of the globe to another. They are thus enabled to know and to declare what is passing in the most distant countries ; so that they gain the credit of being the authors of events of which they are only the reporters. It was this peculiarity in the nature of demons which enabled them to communicate to the Pythian priestess what Croesus was at that very moment doing in Lydia. In like manner, as they are continually passing to and fro through the region of the air, they can foretell the changes of the weather ; and thus procure for the idol the reputation of possessing an insight into futurity. When by their delusions they have induced men to offer sacrifice, they hover about the victim ; snuffing up with delight the savory steam, which is their proper food. The demons employed other artifices in order to effect the destruction of man. As during their abode in heaven they were enabled to obtain some insight into the nature of the Divine dispensations, they endeavored to preoccupy the minds of men, and to prevent them from embracing Christianity, by inventing fables bearing some resemblance to the truths which were to become the objects of faith under the Gospel. Thus they invented the tales of the tribunal of Minos and Rhadamanthus in the infernal regions ; of the river Pyriphlegethon, and the Elysian Fields ; in order that when the doctrines of a future judgment, and of the eternal happiness and misery prepared for the good and wicked in another life, should be revealed, the common people might think the former equally credible, the philosopher equally incredible, with the latter." — **John [Kaye]** Bishop of Lincoln, *Ecc. Hist. Illust. from Tertullian*, 3d edit. pp. 200 – 204.

⁶ Tertullian evidently identifies in some passages the demon with the

Alexandria,⁷ to whose opinions an additional reference is subjoined.⁸

Origen and Minucius Felix believed, equally with others of their time, in the active agency of demons. Even the agony in the garden and on the cross seem, in the eyes of the former, to have resulted from anticipations of conflict with them.⁹

heathen deity. See his *Apology*, 12, cited in *Underworld Mission*, p. 78 ; 3d edit. pp. 74, 75. Kaye has not made sufficient allowance for the fact that Tertullian's views were somewhat inconsistent with each other.

⁷ "Clement speaks of apostate angels, who, smitten by the beauty of women, and giving themselves up to their lusts, were cast down from heaven. They revealed to women the Divine mysteries which had come to their knowledge, and which it was intended to keep secret until the advent of the Lord. Thus men received the doctrine of Providence and the knowledge of sublime things (τῶν μετεώρων). Demons, according to Clement, are hateful and impure Spirits, always tending downwards to the earth, hovering about tombs and monuments, where they are obscurely seen, like shadowy phantasms. He couples them with bad angels, and says that the name of angels or demons was given to the souls of men. In some places he applies the name δαίμονες [demons] to the heathen gods ; in others he alludes to the Platonic distinction between gods and demons.

"With respect to the worship of demons, Clement doubts who first erected altars and offered sacrifices to them ; but says expressly that the first altar to Love was erected by Charmus (qu. Charinus) in the academy. He speaks of a demon to whom gluttons are subject ; but says that men cannot truly ascribe their sins to the agency of demons ; since, if they can, they will themselves be free from guilt. He defines the passions, impressions made upon the soft and yielding soul by the spiritual powers, against whom we have to wrestle. The object of these malevolent powers is on every occasion to produce something of their own habits or dispositions, and thus to bring again under their subjection those who have renounced them (in baptism). In the case of demoniacal possessions, the demon entered into the possessed person, who in consequence did not speak his own language, but that of the demon. The magicians, however, pretended that they could at all times command the services of the demons." — John [Kaye] Bishop of Lincoln, *Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria*, pp. 359 – 361.

⁸ See *Underworld Mission*, p. 97 ; 3d edit. p. 93, note 1.

⁹ See *Underworld Mission*, § XV. Origen, however, believed equally

The overthrow of these demons was sometimes held up as the object of Christ's mission. **Justin Martyr** says (*Apol.* 2, 6): "He became man . . . that he might overthrow the demons."

If we now turn to the Gospels we find not one word concerning the heathen deities. The Teacher of teachers does not even allude, as there represented, to this fearful conflict which his followers were to wage at every step through life. Any demons mentioned in the Gospels are simply depicted as authors of some physical disease, but are nowhere identified with the heathen deities, nor represented as objects of worship. It is morally impossible, if the early Christians had tampered with their Master's history, that this — to them all absorbing — subject should have been totally overlooked, and no teachings in regard to it have been ascribed to the Master.

§ 2. *Concerning Idolatry.*

Distinct from any question as to the origin and character of these beings was their identification with the wooden or metallic or earthenware images which were supposed to represent them. This treatment of an image as a god was heartily ridiculed by Christians, as it had been (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 13, 11-19) by Jews before them. When the image was of wood, or of cheap metal, or of pottery, they took satisfaction in pointing out its defects, or the base uses to which chance only prevented it from being applied. If it were of costly metal, Christians pointed out that the god needed a guard to prevent him from being stolen. The Epistle to Diognetus (§ 2) condenses these arguments.

in the ministry of good angels; see Lamson, *Church of the First Three Centuries*, pp. 195, 196, and Huet, *Origeniana*, 2, 2, 5; pp. 272-350 in Vol. 22 of Lommatzsch's *Origen*.

"By these and similar fables the same demons have filled the ears of the inexperienced that they might excite an execrating horror against us." — **Minucius Felix**, *Octavius*, 28, pp. 142, 143, edit. Davis. Minucius had previously given a list of crimes charged against Christians, among which (p. 142, compare p. 49) was the eating of infants.

Another question concerning Idolatry was ethical: Did, or did not, God regard it as a crime the most serious which his children could commit?

Before attending to this, it may be well to say that, even prior to the Christian era, Idolatry was by the ruling classes kept up for political reasons. (Compare *Judaism*, p. 155 n.) In the reign of Claudius, A. D. 41 – 54, it had died out at Rome and needed to be revived. The effort to revive it was merely a political one, yet the privileged classes, who labored for its restoration, seem to have found a moderate degree of belief among the weak-minded and superstitious. Honest belief in Idolatry was the exception, yet the exception was frequent enough to deserve attention. Let us set aside the credulity of the dishonest, who thought that by paying a god sufficiently, he would aid them in misdeeds, and let us take a case of honest belief.

Let us suppose that a heathen had sacrificed to a heathen divinity either because of his own escape from peril, or because some member of his family had been restored to health. If he did it in good faith, believing in aid received from the deity, was he committing a crime which the Supreme Being would not forgive?

Let us suppose that a monotheistic brother or relative were invited by the heathen to join in the feast of thankfulness. Would such guest, by tasting ignorantly or knowingly the meat which had been offered to an idol, commit a crime the most serious in the eye of God?

Some Liberalist Jews would, equally with Paul, have taken ground that eating the meat¹⁰ was indifferent, save when it caused risk of misleading others into what they believed wrong. The mass, however, of Jews and Jewish Christians would have deemed it a gross delinquency under any circumstances to taste such meat. The Council of Christians held at Jerusalem expressly forbade

¹⁰ “Do not for the sake of food undo the work of God. All things indeed are clean; but that which is pure is evil for that man who eateth so as to be an occasion of sin.” — **Rom. 14**, 20. See also 1 Cor. **8**, 8 – 10, quoted in Ch. II. note 5, and Coloss. **2**, 16, quoted in Ch. II. note 11.

it. Even the heathen, who with a good motive, or at least with nothing wrong in his purpose, had spread such a feast, would, by many Jews and by a large proportion of Jewish Christians, have been deemed guilty of an offence for which he could not deeply enough bow himself in penitence.

The Christians, in their conflict with heathenism, came to regard Idolatry as the chief of all sins.¹¹

Of this question, which caused great trouble even in Apostolic times, — and by which the mentally weak may have been perplexed even to agony, — nothing appears in the Gospels. The Teacher is not represented as uttering one word concerning it for the guidance of his followers.

§ 3. *Christ's Mission to the Underworld.*

Among early Christians a belief prevailed, which began probably in the first century, that Christ at his death entered on a Mission to the Underworld. This belief permeated every branch of the Christian community, and seems to have taken deep hold in each and every one of them.¹² It was a favorite explanation of the object for which Christ died.¹³ The vicarious atonement does not at the present day occupy a more prominent place in the theology of those denominations which attach most importance to it, than did the Underworld Mission in the theology of the early Christians.

The Gospels make no mention of Christ's Mission to the Underworld. Had the early Christians fabricated them from their own views, this omission would be unac-

¹¹ "The PRINCIPAL crime of the human race, the CHIEF indictment against the world, the SOLE cause of the judgment, is Idolatry." — **Ter-tullian, de Idololat.** 1. Compare *Judaism*, p. 362, note 12.

"Others say : We more than others practically recognize the Divine nature, recognizing it and [its] images. . . . How do you pronounce yourselves more than others practical recognizers [of the Divine nature, you] who recognize it least of all, meriting destruction of your souls by this one and UNEQUALLED sin, if truly you persevere in it ?" — **Clemen-tine Homilies, 11, 12.**

¹² *Underworld Mission*, §§ 1 — 24.

¹³ *Underworld Mission*, § 6.

countable. Jesus is not even made in the Gospels to tell his disciples, after returning to life, the important work which he was supposed to have performed.

§ 4. *Resurrection of the Flesh.*

Prior to the Christian era a belief prevailed among Jews in a future *anastasis*, that is, a resurrection or replacement. In some cases a replacement of mankind alone may have been intended, but in others a replacement of the world, of mankind, and of the animal creation may have been included in the term. In this latter shape the Stoics seem to have borrowed the view.¹⁴

Christians adopted the Jewish term, but differed among themselves as to what they should understand by it. Some understood a physical resurrection of mankind, while others held that at death we permanently left our present physical bodies. Between these two divisions of Christians there was sharp discussion. The believers in a physical resurrection regarded the opposite party as heretical. The opposite party regarded adherents of the physical resurrection as weak-minded or stupid.

In a former work¹⁵ an outline has been given of the two parties. Even in Apostolic times we find that the

¹⁴ *Judaism at Rome*, p. 44, note 12, and p. 57, note 50.

¹⁵ *Underworld Mission*, Appendix, Note E. To the citations there given should be added the following. **Tatian**, after telling the heathens that they held a medley of conflicting opinions, adds: "Some say . . . that the soul only is rendered immortal, but I, that the flesh [is rendered immortal] with it." — *Orat.* 25; *Opp.* p. 104 C D, edit. Otto; p. 265 C, edit. Maran. "Since the Lord . . . arose bodily . . . it is manifest that his disciples, . . . receiving their bodies and rising perfectly, that is, bodily as the Lord arose, will thus come into the presence of God." — **Irenæus**, 5, 31, 2.

Tertullian, in a work devoted to this question, argues (*de Resurrect. Carnis*, 7, 8) that the body ministers to the privileges of the soul and in martyrdom suffers imprisonment or torment, and would not be fairly treated unless gifted equally as the soul with future reward. Compare his *Apol.* 48, and in Athenagoras, *de Resurrect.* 18, p. 264 D A, edit. Otto.

discussion touching the resurrection and the future body must have been animated.¹⁶

If we now turn to the Gospels, we find nothing taught by the Master, nor any question raised, concerning man's future body, or as to whether he should have a body. An argument of our Savior in one passage implies that those who had passed away were yet in existence.¹⁷ In another passage a FUTURE resurrection might seem to be implied,¹⁸ but in neither case is there an argument or distinct statement as to the character of the future body.

§ 5. *The Millennium.*

Among Jews a belief existed in a Millennium, a period of one thousand years, during which the good were to live on earth untroubled by the presence of the bad.¹⁹ Among Christians this belief reappears already in Apostolic times,²⁰ and must have been largely held by Jewish and semi-Jewish Christians.²¹ Among Liberalist Catholics, however,

¹⁶ 1 Cor. 15, 12-44.

¹⁷ Jesus quotes (**Matt. 22, 32**; **Mark 12, 26, 27**; **Luke 20, 37, 38**) from the Old Testament the words: "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," and appends the remark, "God is not a God of the dead, but of the living," implying that at the date when God uttered these words Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were alive.

¹⁸ Jesus speaks of those who were in their graves (John 5, 28, 29) as hereafter to hear his voice and to come forth. The passage, though it affirms nothing concerning a physical resurrection, might suggest it to those who already believed in it.

¹⁹ Trypho the Jew is represented by Justin as saying: "Tell me truly, do you confess that this place, Jerusalem, is to be rebuilt, and do you expect your People to be assembled and rejoice with the Messiah, together with the patriarchs and prophets and those [either] of our race, or who became proselytes [to our views] before the advent of your Christ?" — **Justin Martyr, Dial. 80, Opp. 2, 272 C**, edit. Otto; p. 177 C, edit. Maran. The answer (see note 21) implies that the rejoicing would be for a thousand years.

²⁰ Rev. 20, 2-7.

²¹ **Papias** "said that after the resurrection of the [just?] dead there would be a special thousand years, the reign of Christ being understood

we find it so sharply ridiculed as to imply that its opponents were anxious to avoid any appearance of holding it. Its advocates looked upon those who rejected it as swerving from the true faith. Cp. *Underworld Mission*, p. 159, 3d edit.

On this disputed point not a word appears in the Gospels. The Teacher gives his followers no instruction on the subject.

§ 6. *Restoration of Jerusalem.*

From the date when the Jewish Temple was destroyed, or surrounded by Roman armies, which threatened its destruction, a belief gained currency among the Jews, that

as a physical one upon this earth." — **Eusebius**, *Ecc. Hist.* 3, 39; *Opp.* 1, p. 284, edit. Heinrich; 1, 112 C, edit. Vales. To this Eusebius appends the remark that Papias was a man of exceedingly little mind.

Justin Martyr says: "I and any other Christians who think correctly on all points, understand that there is to be a resurrection of the flesh and a [residence of a] thousand years in Jerusalem rebuilt and adorned and enlarged, as the prophets Ezekiel [37, 12 sqq.] and Isaiah [65, 17-25] and the others acknowledge." — *Dial.* 80, *Opp.* 2, 276 B, edit. Otto; p. 178 B C, edit. Maran.

"These things [promised by Jesus] are [to be received] in the times of the kingdom, that is, in the seventh day . . . which is the true sabbath of the just . . . all animals — using the kinds of food which are derived from the earth — will be made pacific and mutually harmonious." — **Irenæus**, *cont. Hæres.* 5, 33, 2-3.

"God made the work of his hands in six days and finished on the seventh day and rested on it. . . . This means that God will finish all things in six thousand years, for a day with him is as one thousand years. . . . He rested on the seventh day. This means, when his son, coming, shall do away the time of the Law-less One and shall condemn unbelievers, and shall change the sun and moon and stars, then he shall rest gloriously on the seventh day." — **Barnabas**, *Epist.* 15; (*al.* 13, 3-6.)

"Papias . . . is said to have enunciated the Jewish Millennium — a duplicate of it; whom Irenæus and Apollinarius and others followed, saying that after the resurrection the Lord will reign bodily with his saints. Tertullian also, in a book *On the Hope of the Faithful*, and Victorinus of Pettaw and Lactantius followed this view." — **Jerome**, *de Viris Illust.* 18, *Opp.* 2, col. 859, 860.

Jerusalem would be rebuilt and enlarged by Divine power.²² The belief must have appeared equally early among Jewish Christians, who regarded it as the locality where their Master was to reign.²³ It was held by semi-Jewish Christians in the second century.²⁴ Even Liberalist Catholics retained Jewish phraseology whilst essentially modifying Jewish views.²⁵

Of these expectations nothing whatever appears in the Gospels, although these Gospels were obviously written by persons of Jewish education.

§ 7. *Rome's Destruction.*

Sixty-three years before the Christian era, a Roman general had shocked Jewish feeling by entering the Holy of Holies, and had wounded Jewish pride by conquering their nation. From that time we find a belief among Jews, that God had doomed Rome to destruction, and that this destruction would be the precursor of the new or Messianic era.²⁶

Christians adopted this belief in apostolic times,²⁷ and it retained its hold on the Jewish and semi-Jewish portions of them for centuries.²⁸

No word concerning this belief appears in the Gospels.

²² Sympathy with Jewish feeling and opinion is the only source whence Christians can have obtained this view. **Irenæus** quotes (**5**, 35, 1, 2) various passages from the Old Testament in support of it, using, among others, a passage of **Baruch** (**4**, 36, 37) in which is the statement, "Arise, Jerusalem, and stand on high . . . and see thy children collected from the rising of the sun even to his setting."—The extant Latin differs slightly from the Septuagint.

²³ Rev. **21**, 9—**22**, 5.

²⁴ See note 21, and compare *Judaism*, pp. 256, 268.

²⁵ According to Origen, the holy city (Matt. **27**, 53) into which the saints entered was the "Heavenly Jerusalem," the "TRULY holy city, the Jerusalem over which Jesus had not wept."—**Origen**, *Comment. in Matt.* Lib. **12**, 43, *Opp.* edit. de la Rue, **3**, 566 A; edit. Lommatsch, **3**, 203.

²⁶ See *Judaism at Rome*, pp. 116—134.

²⁷ *Judaism*, pp. 265—268.

²⁸ *Judaism*, pp. 135, 136.

§ 8. *Beliar, or Antichrist.*

In A. D. 52, Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome, and in that or the succeeding year an effort was made to place his statue in the Temple at Jerusalem. Coincident with this we find among Jews and Christians a belief that the Roman emperor, after making himself God's opponent, would be overthrown, and that his destruction would precede the new era. Jews called him (see *Judaism*, pp. 138-140, 239 n) Beliar. Christians termed him the LAWLESS ONE,²⁹ that is, THE HEATHEN, a term replaced afterwards by that of Antichrist,³⁰ a conflict being expected between him and the true Christ.

The effort to erect the emperor's statue in the Temple was probably manœuvred by the Roman aristocracy and foiled by the younger Herod Agrippa, who must have visited Rome for that purpose.³¹ It seems to have been made from Samaria, where its designers may have secured co-operation from some of the less religious Samaritans.³²

²⁹ See Barnabas, in note 21, and 2 Thess. 2, 8, in *Judaism*, p. 236.

³⁰ "The resurrection of the Just . . . which takes place after the advent of Antichrist." *Iren. cont. Hæres.* 5, 35, 1. "It is necessary . . . that Antichrist should first come, and then that the true Christ, our Jesus, should appear." *Clem. Hom.* 2, 17.

³¹ Tacitus tells us *indirectly* (*An.* 12, 54) that the Jews were expecting Claudius to attempt putting his statue in the Temple. Josephus mentions (*Wars*, 2, 12, 1) a difficulty at the Temple in which, according to his—no doubt exaggerated—account, ten thousand Jews were killed; and attributes the commotion, as also some subsequent ones, to causes so trifling as to imply that for some reason he has avoided telling the truth. We find, moreover, in the same writer (*Wars*, 2, 12, 7) that the younger King Agrippa, who visited Rome perhaps with special reference to this difficulty, confronted there the Roman governor and THE SAMARITANS; and in the writings of Paul (see *Judaism*, p. 236 n) we find a passage scarcely explicable unless some such effort had been arrested by Agrippa.

³² Justin Martyr mentions (*Apol.* 1, 26, 56) that in the time of Claudius a statue had been voted to a Samaritan named Simon, whom Justin identifies with Simon Magus. A statue to a Sabine deity, which has been dug up on an island in the Tiber, may have misled Justin, who was

Whether the Roman emperor, at a yet earlier date, had been regarded as the aspiring opponent whom God was to crush, may admit question. Between A. D. 41, when Caligula was murdered, and A. D. 52 or 53, whose occurrences we have just narrated, the Jewish aristocracy had been inventing falsehoods against Caligula.³³ Whether the charge against him, of intending to put his statue in the Temple, had any existence before A. D. 52 or 53, is a matter of inference. The Jewish aristocracy, who in exculpation of their own crimes had been maligning him, may not have invented this particular charge until the action of their political associates, the Roman aristocracy, had rendered it necessary.

Of Beliar, or Antichrist, or of any questions connected with such a being, not a trace appears in the Gospels.

§ 9. *Nero's Return.*

Blended with the preceding head, was the belief held by many Jews and Christians, subsequently to Nero's death, in A. D. 68, that Nero would return as Beliar, or Antichrist.

Among heathens the belief that he would return had nothing supernatural connected with it, being based on the supposition that he was not dead. In the course of a lifetime it died out.

Among Jews and Christians an anticipation existed that he was to come back from the Underworld, or from some locality outside of this life, and that his return was to precede the new era.³⁴ Of this belief not a word appears in the Gospels.

not critically gifted, and who may have known only at second-hand concerning the statue there. Yet that any co-operation with patricians should have been rewarded by them with a statue, or at least with the voted promise of one, is natural enough. The death of Claudius may have prevented its erection. Compare preceding note.

³³ See *Judaism at Rome*, pp. 137 - 140.

³⁴ See *Judaism at Rome*, Appendix, Note F.

§ 10. *Conflagration of the World.*

A belief had originated among Hellenist Jews, and been adopted by Stoics, before the Christian era, that the world would undergo a renovation by fire, from which it would emerge in pristine excellence and beauty.³⁵

Christians adopted, even in Apostolic times, the belief in such a conflagration.³⁶ In the second and subsequent centuries³⁷ it prevailed to no small extent.

No allusion appears in the Gospels to this expectation, one of the most vivid which prevailed among Christians.

§ 11. *God Devoid of Name.*

In the controversy between Christians and heathens no little stress was laid by the former on an assertion that the Supreme and Uncreated God must necessarily be devoid of name.³⁸ In heathen lands, where the Gentile gods had names, this view of the Christians originated naturally and acquired prominence.

³⁵ See *Judaism*, pp. 44, 45, 55–57.

³⁶ “The heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men. . . . The heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat. Nevertheless, we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.” — **2 Pet. 3**, 7, 12, 13. Compare *Judaism*, pp. 485, 486.

³⁷ “Sibylla and Hystaspes say that there will be a dissolution of corruptible things by fire.” — **Justin Martyr**, *Apol.* **1**, 20. “The prophetic spirit fore-indicated through Moses, that there will be a conflagration.” — *Apol.* **1**, 60. “We affirm that the conflagration will take place thus.” — *Apol.* **2**, 7. “The wicked demons strive to persuade you that there will be no conflagration for the punishment of heathens.” — *Apol.* **1**, 57. Compare a conjectural emendation of editors, *Apol.* **1**, 45; in Otto’s edit. p. 228, note 3. “Some one [among Stoics? or heathens?] will say . . . that the conflagration will take place at stated times, but I [that it will take place] only once.” — **Tatian**, *Orat.* 25; *Opp.* p. 104 C, edit. Otto; p. 265 B, edit. Maran. See also *Judaism at Rome*, p. 45, note 15.

³⁸ See *Underworld Mission*, p. 152 n, 3d edit. p. 146 n, and compare in the present work a citation from Eusebius in Ch. VIII. note 4.

No allusion to it appears in the Gospels. The term God appears in them as having a well-settled meaning, which permitted no questions concerning it.

§ 12. *Old Testament Predictions.*

In Apostolic times we find quotations made from the Old Testament, and arguments based upon these quotations, in proof that Jesus was the Christ.³⁹

In the second century, after the Jewish rebellion under Hadrian, Christians, or at least a large portion of them, had a mania for arguments of this class.⁴⁰ Passages from the Old Testament, which often needed laborious and improbable explanations, as a means of forcing them to predict circumstances in the life of Jesus, were quoted at length and treated as conclusively plain. The Jews were treated as wilfully blind and obstinate in their refusal to accept these interpretations. The professed discussions with, or arguments against, them were probably intended for circulation among Gentiles, and passages therein quoted as arguments were urged on Gentiles, as if they admitted no other explanation.

The inability of Christians to use their own records in behalf of their assertions predisposed them to stretch other arguments to their utmost. The author of the *Cohortatio ad Græcos* calls attention to the preservation of these Old Testament predictions by the Jews, as a work of Providence, since the Christians, by quoting from writings preserved in the synagogues of their enemies, would be free from suspicion of having tampered with them.⁴¹

The stress laid on prophecy may be inferred from an objection to the heathen deities, made by Commodianus, that they had not been predicted.⁴² He meant, probably,

³⁹ Acts 2, 25-36; 13, 32-37; 18, 28.

⁴⁰ *Judaism at Rome*, pp. 344-346.

⁴¹ Ch. 13, Justin, *Opp.* p. 48 E.

⁴² "No one prophesied beforehand that he (Saturn) would be born." — **Commodianus**, *Instruct.* 6, line 13. "You pray to so many gods . . . nor were they themselves predicted." — *Instruct.* 8, ll. 8, 9.

that beings who came into existence without having been foretold had nothing divine about them.

In the Gospels there is no quotation from the Old Testament extant, on which Jesus is represented as basing an argument for his Divine mission. Two passages⁴³ might raise the question whether he believed the Old Testament to contain such predictions, but no quotation of them, with an argument from them by Jesus, is to be found in the Gospels.⁴⁴ This certainly would not have been the fact, if Christians of the second century, or even of Apostolic times, had fabricated or interpolated them with reference to their own conceptions of truth.

§ 13. *Jesus as Deity of the Old Testament.*

A little after A. D. 150⁴⁵ the opinion was broached among Christians that Jesus was the God who had spoken to the Patriarchs, had shut the door of the Ark after

⁴³ One of these passages (**John 5**, 39, 46, 47), though frequently understood as an appeal to predictions, favors by its connection the supposition that Jesus had in view the moral and religious instructions of Moses, written with reference to himself, that is (see *Judaism*, p. 394), to prepare the way for his mission. The impediment specified by Jesus as preventing belief on him is not an inability to decipher predictions, but that, "you have not the love of God in you. . . . How can you believe who accept honor from each other and seek not that honor which is from the Only God? . . . Had you believed Moses you would have believed me, for it was with reference to me that he wrote."

The other passage (**Luke 24**, 25-27) admits either supposition, that Jesus referred to predictions or to moral instructions, yet the latter is favored by a subsequent remark of the disciples (**24**, 32): "Did not our hearts burn within us . . . as he opened to us the Scriptures?" An explanation of predictions would have exercised the mind rather than warmed the heart.

⁴⁴ Jesus appeals (**John 5**, 32-34) to the testimony of John, though alleging that it ought to be needless; he appeals (**John 5**, 36) to his miracles and (**John 7**, 17) to the character of his teaching, but in no instance does the record contain an explanation by him of the manner in which an Old Testament prediction is applicable to himself.

⁴⁵ See Appendix, Note M.

Noah, and whose presence was in various ways recorded in the Old Testament. This view had in the third century gained considerable foothold, but it is difficult to say whether within a quarter of a century after its origin it found adherents enough to create any strong probability of its ingress into the Gospels, if at that date they had been in process of formation. The probability will seem stronger or weaker, according to the hold on the minds of Christians which the reader supposes the above view to have taken.

The view of course does not exist in the Gospels.

§ 14. *Personal Appearance of Jesus.*

In the latter half of the second century, and the first half of the third, a mania, as already said (see § 12), existed among many Christians for misapplying to their Master passages from the Old Testament, which they had deluded themselves into regarding as predictions.⁴⁶ They treated the words of **Isaiah**, "He had no form, nor comeliness, that we should look upon him, nor beauty, that we should take pleasure in him,"⁴⁷ as spoken of Jesus, and put into their Master's mouth the twenty-second **Psalms**, of which verse 6 reads, "I am a worm, and not a man; the reproach of men, and the scorn of the people."⁴⁸

Justin repeatedly mentions "the first coming of Christ,

⁴⁶ See *Judaism*, pp. 344–346, with the explanation there given as to what strengthened this mania.

⁴⁷ Ch. **53**, 2, *Noyes' trans.*

⁴⁸ Justin, though treating the Psalm (*Dial.* 98–106) as spoken by Christ, interprets verse 7 (*Dial.* 101) as indicating merely Jewish contempt for him. Origen, in his Homily on Exodus (**7**, 8; *Opp.* **2**, 156 A), though understanding the passage as spoken by Jesus, does not apply it to his personal appearance, nor do the Homilies on Luke which are sometimes erroneously attributed to him. See Hom. **14**; *Orig. Opp.* **3**, 948 F. Tertullian, however (*adv. Judæos*, 14, p. 228 B), quotes it separately from the rest of the Psalm, and in a connection which indicates that he so applied it. Probably Justin and in this instance Origen shrank from an interpretation which their heathen opponents were over-willing to see and use even without Christian aid.

in which it was foretold that he should appear without honor, and UNSIGHTLY and mortal.”⁴⁹

The **Pseudo-Thaddeus** is represented as telling Abgarus, “To-morrow gather together all the citizens, and then in their hearing I will . . . inform them of the coming of Christ, . . . and about the MEANNESS and DESPICABLENESS of his outward appearance.”⁵⁰

A passage in the **Sibylline Oracles** says of Christ: “Not in glory, but as a mortal [on the way] to his trial he will come, pitiable, dishonored, DEVOID OF FORM, that he may give hope to the miserable.”⁵¹

Whether Irenæus meant to affirm the same unsightliness, may be a question. His language favors it.⁵²

Statements and quotations such as the foregoing were admirably adapted to furnish material for heathen humorists and controversialists who wished to caricature the Founder of Christianity. Nor were they slow to avail themselves of the offered material. **Celsus** says: “Since the Divine spirit was in the body [of Jesus], it ought entirely to surpass those of others in size, or beauty, or strength, or voice, or majesty, or persuasiveness, for it is impossible that he, in whom the divinity is present more than in others, should in no wise differ from another; but this [body] differed nothing from another, but, as they say, was SMALL and UNSIGHTLY and IGNOBLE.”⁵³

Origen replies that Celsus ignores opposite delineation

⁴⁹ *Dial.* 14. Compare similar statements in cc. 49, 85, 100, 110; pp. 52 D, 158 B, 288 A, 336 E, 364 E. Justin evidently lays emphasis on these statements.

⁵⁰ See fuller quotation in Appendix, Note F.

⁵¹ Book 8, 256, 257. Compare in Appendix, Note J, No. 3.

⁵² “They who say . . . ‘He will take on himself our infirmities, and will bear our weaknesses’ [Is. 53, 4], announced the cures which were performed by him. Some also predicted that ‘he would come to Jerusalem as a man INFIRM and INGLORIOUS, and knowing how to bear infirmity’ [Is. 53, 3] and sitting on the foal of an ass.” — **Irenæus**, *cont. Hæres.* 4, 33, 11–12.

⁵³ Celsus quoted by **Origen**, *cont. Cels.* 6, 75 (requoted 6, 77); *Opp.* edit. de la Rue, 1, pp. 688, 689; edit. Lommatzsch, 19, p. 425.

tions of Jesus in the Scriptures. He says: "Confessedly there is written the things [said] concerning the body of Jesus having been unsightly; but not as set forth, that it was ignoble, nor is it clearly manifested that it was small."⁵⁴ He then quotes, as equally apposite to Jesus, the words of **Psalm 45**, 3, "Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, mighty in thy stateliness and beauty,"⁵⁵ and asks, "How does (Celsus) not see the superiority of the body of Jesus (and its consequent usefulness) in its ability to appear to beholders as it ought to be seen by each one?"⁵⁶

Origen had already mentioned that Jesus had not merely the unsightly body, but also the glorified one, in which he appeared with Moses and Elijah;⁵⁷ yet it is evident that besides these two forms of unsightliness and glory, he assumed a changeability in the personal appearance of Jesus. In at least one other instance he utters the same view.⁵⁸ Whether this were a conviction, or a temporary mental expedient for meeting an opponent's argument, is not obvious, though the latter is the more probable.

⁵⁴ *Cont. Cels.* 6, 75; ed. de la Rue, 1, 689 B; Lommatzsch, 19, 426.

⁵⁵ *Cont. Cels.* 6, 75; ed. de la Rue, 1, 689-690; Lommatzsch, 19, 427.

⁵⁶ *Cont. Cels.* 6, 77; edit. de la Rue, 1, p. 690 D; edit. Lommatzsch, 19, 429.

⁵⁷ *Cont. Cels.* 6, 76.

⁵⁸ The following translation is from **Norton's Genuineness**, Vol. 3, p. 174, and is, he says, "considerably abridged" from the original. "A tradition has come down to us, that Jesus had not only two forms, that in which he was seen by all, and that in which he was seen by his disciples at his transfiguration; but that he appeared to every one in the form of which he was worthy; and that (at times) when present, he appeared to all like another person. Thus he resembled the manna, which had a different taste for different individuals, accommodated to every man's liking. And this tradition does not seem to me incredible. But if it were so, we may explain why the multitude which accompanied Judas, though they had often seen Jesus, nevertheless needed some one familiar with him to point him out to them, on account of the changes of his form." — **Origen**, *Serics Comment. in Matt.* § 100; *Opp.* 3, p. 906, edit. de la Rue; Vol. 4, p. 446, edit. Lommatzsch.

Absence of this folly from the Acts of Pilate renders probable that it originated after their composition.

Possibly some Christians may, even during the mania above mentioned, have revolted at the thought of attributing to their Master, without historical evidence, an unsightly appearance. Clement of Alexandria, by his general tone of reference to Jesus, renders improbable that he can have shared the disposition to treat him as personally repulsive. A forged letter in the name of Lentulus,⁵⁹ an assumed heathen, has come down to us, which must have been an effort by some Christian to counteract the foregoing folly. It ascribes to Jesus personal stateliness and beauty. This — though the miracles receive a passing mention — is the chief object of the letter, and places it in marked contrast to other pseudo-heathen or pseudo-Jewish records of Jesus, which testify mainly to his ministry and miracles.

Concerning the personal appearance of Jesus not a word appears in the Gospels; neither unsightliness nor beauty is attributed to him.

CHAPTER IV.

CHRISTIAN CUSTOMS.

IN some respects customs are more likely than mere opinions to cause collision or friction between those who observe different ones. In so far as we can feel assured of this having been the case touching Christian usages, they afford a strong and independent argument for integrity of the Gospels.

§ 1. *Concerning the Sabbath.*

Jewish Christians continued in most cases, equally with non-Christian Jews, to rest from labor on the seventh day,

⁵⁹ See the letter in Appendix, Note D.

and to assemble on it for religious services. Gentile Christians found difficulties in the way of observing any day of rest, especially in times of political excitement. In such times a man of standing would have risked prosecution for observance of Foreign Rites, had he kept the seventh day as one of rest, while many slaves and many free laborers would not have been allowed control of their time.

We find in the Apostolic Age that Paul treats the sabbath as not binding on Gentile Christians,¹ and his tone indicates that there was no little feeling on the subject. He urges that those who deemed one day more holy than another, and that those who deemed ALL DAYS alike, should not interfere with or condemn each other. His own views are plainly expressed that the Gentile Christians should not keep the sabbath.

In the second century, after the embittered war between Jews and heathens under Hadrian, we find intense feeling in discussions concerning the sabbath. A portion of the Christians treat the Jews as utterly foolish for observing any day of rest, and speak of the sabbath as a temporary institution, imposed upon the Jews because of their hard-heartedness.²

¹ See Ch. II. note 11.

² Portions of this discussion from Paul (Galat. 4, 9, 10; Coloss. 2, 16, 17), Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and the Epistle to Diognetus have already been given in Ch. II. note 11; see also Rom. 14, 5, quoted in Ch. II. note 6.

Irenæus, equally with some other writers, takes ground that the sabbath was a temporary institution for the Jews, intended as a *sign*, or reminder, of an agreement between them and God. He argues: "The prophet **Ezekiel** [20, 12] says the same concerning sabbaths: 'I have given them my sabbaths that they may be for a sign between me and them,' . . . and in **Exodus** [31, 16, 17] God says to Moses, 'and you shall observe my sabbaths, for it will be a sign to you with me, as regards your race.' These things, therefore [circumcision and the sabbath], were given for a sign." — **Irenæus**, 4, 16, 1.

Tertullian says: "Finally, whoever contends that the sabbath is to be observed until the present time as a means of salvation . . . let

Of this discussion and of the acrimonious feeling occasioned by it not a word appears in the Gospels. The sabbath is there recognized (Mark 2, 27) as made for man, not man for the sabbath. Nowhere do we find a word implying that it had come to an end.

§ 2. *Sunday as a Day of Religious Gatherings.*

Concerning the origin of Sunday service, no historical statement has been left us. Circumstances render probable that it originated towards the close of A. D. 52 or in A. D. 53. At that date a political condition of things rendered it dangerous for Gentiles to observe even in a limited degree the Jewish sabbath.³ Paul, on separating from the Jewish synagogue at Corinth, seems to have commenced holding services on the first day of the week.⁴

In the second century Sunday was regarded as a day of religious joy. Christians on that day were not allowed either to fast or kneel, and, when called to pray, were told, "Stand perfectly straight."⁵

The custom of meeting on Sunday for religious service

him teach that the JUST MEN of former time [that is, those before Abraham or Moses] kept sabbaths . . . and were thus rendered friends of God. . . . He (God) commended his (Adam's) offspring, Abel, when offering sacrifices to himself, though . . . keeping no sabbath." — *Adv. Judæos*, 2.

"Those who were conversant with the old order of things have come to a new hope, no longer sabbatizing but living a life agreeably to the Lord's Day." — *Ignatius, Magnes.* 9; *al.* 3, 3. See citation from the epistle ascribed to Barnabas in Ch. III. note 21.

³ See *Judaism*, pp. 228 – 229.

⁴ See *Judaism*, pp. 234, 239, 240. On the different terms "First Day," "Eighth Day," "Lord's Day," and "Sunday," see *Judaism*, pp. 68 – 70.

⁵ See *Underworld Mission*, pp. 80, 81; 3d edit. pp. 77, 78. The term sabbath as a designation for Sunday had no existence for centuries after the Christian era. Christians of the second and of several succeeding centuries would have spurned any one as recreant to the Master who had dared to treat the day of that Master's victory over Death and the Underworld as the Jewish sabbath.

led gradually to abstinence from any occupations which might distract attention from, or mar the effect of, these services. This doubtless was the chief reason for renouncing ordinary business, although Tertullian, the earliest writer who mentions such Sunday rest, attributes it to a different cause.⁶

Eastern Christians, though equally attentive as Western ones to an erect position on Sunday, differed from them by showing a similar respect for the seventh day or sabbath,⁷ a respect which sometimes awakened ire in their western and more anti-Jewish brethren.⁸

⁶ **Tertullian** says: "On the day of the Lord's resurrection we ought not only to abstain from it [kneeling] but from every anxiety . . . deferring even business, lest we should afford opportunity to the Devil [of rendering us anxious]." — *De Orat.* 18. An anxious or clouded face would have been deemed derogatory to the Master's triumphal day. The Christians individually, and in legislative enactments, designated Sunday as a festival, and subsequently needed perhaps on this account to guard the more against its devotion to public amusements. An extract or two are here added. Others can be found in Rheinwald's *Archæology*, § 61. In A. D. 321 an edict of **Constantine** (*Cod. Justin.* 3, 12, *de feriis*, 3), after forbidding lawsuits and mechanical arts on Sunday, permits harvesting. Somewhat later another edict (*Cod. Theod.* 2, 8, *de feriis*, 1) determines "all should have liberty of emancipating on [our] FESTAL day." The connection implies that Sunday is the day meant. The edicts will be found in the *CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS*, Vol. 2, col. 250.

Those who favored resting on Sunday are careful to guard against any supposition that it is the sabbath. The **Council of Laodicea** says (c. 29): "that it is not proper for any Christians . . . to avoid work on THE SABBATH, but . . . to show higher honor to the Lord's Day IF they can avoid work."

⁷ The observance of both days is advocated in the **Apostolic Constitutions**, 7, 23: "We make festival days of the sabbath AND the Lord's Day. The one as a remembrance of the creation, the other of the resurrection."

⁸ "As concerns kneeling also [our habits of] prayer suffer diversity through a certain few who on the sabbath [seventh day] abstain from kneeling. . . . The Lord will favorably grant either that they [the dissentients] give up, or that they practise their opinions without scandal-

If we turn to the Gospels we find no direction uttered by the Savior as to the manner in which Sunday should be observed, or as to whether it should be observed at all. We find, also, no such terms as "Lord's Day," "Eighth Day," or "Sunday," but merely the Jewish term "First Day."

§ 3. *Eating of Blood.*

Among Jews a belief prevailed that the life or soul was in the blood, so that if the blood remained in cooked meat the life or soul would be eaten equally as the body. This gave rise doubtless to the prohibition in Genesis,⁹ — a prohibition which is deemed binding by Jews even at the present day,¹⁰ and has been adopted in the Greek Church,¹¹ a Church more influenced than the Latin one by Jewish views.

Jewish Christians retained the belief or prejudice in which they had been brought up. The favorite argument¹² against the obligation of Gentiles to obey what were deemed Mosaic institutions did not apply to the present prohibition. When the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem debated this with other matters, there was (*Acts* 15, 7) "much disputing." Peter's statement seems to have effected a decision that the Mosaic ritual law was not binding on Gentiles, but to this the following answer was obvious. If we assume that the Mosaic law is not binding, how does that justify us in releasing Gentile Chris-

izing others." — **Tertullian**, *De Orat.* 18; *al.* 23. Compare, however, (in Rheinwald, p. 160, note 2) views of Tertullian, *De Jejun.* 14, after he became a Montanist.

⁹ "But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat." — **Gen.** 9, 4.

¹⁰ If it be true that needless suffering is caused to slaughtered animals for the sake of freeing them from all blood, it could be wished that Jews might learn to regard the eating of blood in a different light.

¹¹ "The Eastern Church has continually preserved this abstinence [from blood], and preserves it even now." — **Routh**, *Reliquiæ Sacre*, I, note on p. 343.

¹² See note 2, and in Ch. II. note 11.

tians from an obligation which existed before the Mosaic law? The present precept was given before the time of Moses, and cannot therefore have been intended for Jews only.

The Apostles and elders evidently did not see their way clear to meet this objection, and, in writing to the Gentile Christians, they include abstinence "from blood and from things strangled" as among necessary observances.¹³

The question caused sharp disputing among the early Christians, but in the Gospels we find no word concerning it. The statement of Jesus (Matt. 15, 11; Mark 7, 15), that a man is not defiled by what enters his mouth but by what proceeds from it, does not accord with the view that

¹³ "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us to lay upon you no greater burden than these NECESSARY things. That you abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication." — **Acts 15**, 28, 29. The allusion to the Holy Spirit means probably that they INTERPRETED Peter's vision as a communication from God which justified them in NOT requiring from Gentiles an observance of the Mosaic ceremonial law, though they did not infer from it any exemption from other obligations, or supposed obligations, which they specify.

In the Letter from the **Churches of Lyons and Vienne** it is said: "How should they [the Christians]—for whom it is not lawful to eat the blood of unreasoning animals—eat children?" — **Routh, Reliq. Sacre**, 1, 304. **Tertullian** says: "Your error [concerning] Christians should cause a blush, since we do not have even the blood of animals among our articles of food, since we abstain, moreover, from things strangled . . . lest we should be contaminated by any blood." — *Apol.* 9; *Opp.* pp. 10 D, 11 A. **Clement of Alexandria** says: "To human beings it is not lawful to touch blood, since to them the body is merely flesh, operated [vivified?] by blood. Human blood participates in the logos [reason?] and shares with the spirit the [Divine] favor." — *Pædag.* 3, 25, *al.* 3; *Opp.* p. 267, edit. Potter. **Minucius Felix** also states (*Octavius*, 30, p. 154) that Christians do not reckon blood in their list of eatables. These writers, except Clement of Alexandria, belong to the semi-Jewish school of Christians. **Origen** mentions (*cont. Cels.* 8, 29) the letter of the Apostles and elders above cited, but prefixes to it the words of Jesus (Matt. 15, 11) that not the things which enter the mouth but those which come out defile us, and the remark of Paul (1 Cor 8, 8)

blood in the food must be avoided, nor is it so specific on this point as it would have been made by the opposite party of Christians.

§ 4. *Baptism.*

The date when baptism originated is unknown. A question addressed to John the Baptist implies that it existed before his time.¹⁴ Probably Jewish belief in the uncleanness of heathens had prompted the ablution of converts to Judaism, and this ablution came thus to be considered as an initiatory rite.

Subsequently to the Savior's ministry, when the Apostles were diffusing their Master's religion, baptism seems to have been commonly administered to those who accepted their teachings. Whether it were the universal form of admission may be open to question, though admissions without it cannot have been numerous. We even find mention in one locality of vicarious baptism,¹⁵ which implies that those who practised it must have imagined the rite a necessary one.

In the second century baptism seems to have been the generally accepted form of admission. Great importance and efficacy were attached to it. None but the baptized were, if we may credit Justin Martyr, admitted¹⁶ to the

that food does not determine our acceptability to God. **Augustine** states (*cont. Faustum*, 32, 13; *Opp.* 6, p. 200, col. 2 C) that the avoidance of things strangled and of blood had about died out in Gentile churches where there was no admixture of Jews. He may have referred specially to Latin ones.

¹⁴ The question addressed to John (**John** 1, 25) is not concerning the meaning of baptism, but "WHY baptizest thou?" The questioners seem to have been acquainted with baptism and to have wished information merely as to why John practised it.

¹⁵ Baptism for the dead (1 Cor. 15, 29) indicates that some had been baptized for their departed relatives or friends.

¹⁶ "In what manner we have dedicated ourselves to God, being created anew through Christ, we will now relate. . . . As many as are persuaded . . . are led by us where there is water . . . are born again, for they perform this bathing . . . in the name of the Father of all things and

Lord's Supper, which had already become something mysterious; yet we find dissentients.

"Those wretches excite questionings. They say, 'baptism is therefore unnecessary [for those] to whom faith is sufficient.'" ¹⁷

If we now turn to the Gospels we find that although Jesus was baptized, yet the only baptism of those who followed him was performed by his disciples, not by himself (John 4, 2), and there is no statement that this baptism was by his direction. Some dispute on the subject took place between John's disciples and a Jew or Jews,¹⁸ the former of whom seem to have felt sore on the subject.¹⁹ Thereupon Jesus left that section of country²⁰ and during the rest of his ministry not the slightest allusion is made in three of the Gospels to baptism²¹ and but one mention of it in the remaining Gospel. That mention occurs in the following direction of Jesus:—"Go and make disciples of all nations [*baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit*] teaching them to observe all things which I have commanded you."²²

Master-God, and of our Savior Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit." — **Justin Martyr**, *Apol.* 1, 61.

"This nourishment is called among us the Eucharist, of which it is not permissible for any one to partake unless . . . bathed with the bathing for remission of sins and for regeneration." — **Justin Martyr**, *Apol.* 1, 66. Compare views of Hermas quoted in *Underworld Mission*, pp. 58, 59; 3d edit. pp. 55–57.

¹⁷ **Tertullian**, *de Baptismo*, 13. Tertullian's opponents (*de Baptismo*, 11) call attention to the fact that Jesus did not baptize.

¹⁸ "Then there arose a question between some of John's disciples and the Jews, about purifying." — **John** 3, 25.

¹⁹ "And they came unto John, and said unto him, Rabbi, he that was with you beyond Jordan, to whom you bore testimony, behold, the same baptizeth, and all men come to him." — **John** 3, 26.

²⁰ "He left Judea, and departed again into Galilee." — **John** 4, 3.

²¹ The concluding verses appended to Mark's Gospel (16, 9–20) are known to be spurious. Compare on this subject Ch. XI. note 10. The Gospel as written by Mark ends with verse 8.

²² **Matt.** 28, 19, 20. Compare Appendix, Note A, § 15. The bap-

In this instance, and in this only, we have in one of the Gospels a custom of the second century unknown to the Apostolic Age.²³ The question may arise whether the passage in brackets be not due to some marginal comment which has crept into the text; whether it be supposable that if Jesus had given such a direction the Apostles would have omitted to comply with, and teach obedience to it. Compare last line of page 86.

The formula, whether it belongs or not to the text, originated earlier than the doctrine of the Trinity. We find it in Justin Martyr, who wrote half a century before any deification of the Spirit as a person.²⁴ He treats the formula as common at a date when, as may be inferred from his writings, the deification of Jesus was incipient or unknown. On its origin see Appendix, Note P.

§ 5. *The Lord's Supper.*

Jesus at the close of his ministry, when partaking for the last time of a meal with those who had been companions of his ministry, asked them that when subse-

tismal formula however, as it exists in Matthew, is not found in the Acts of Pilate. Did it originate later than that document?

²³ The formula in the Apostolic Age appears in the following passages: "They were baptized in THE NAME OF THE LORD JESUS." — **Acts 8, 16.** "He [Peter] commanded them to be baptized in THE NAME OF THE LORD." — **Acts 10, 48.** "They were baptized in THE NAME OF THE LORD JESUS." — **Acts 19, 5.** "Be baptized and wash away thy sins, calling on THE NAME OF THE LORD." — **Acts 22, 16.**

²⁴ At an earlier date than the one mentioned above, the Alexandrine Gnostics (concerning whom see *Judaism*, pp. 331–336) personified the Holy Spirit as an æon. Whether they regarded these æons as real beings may be doubted, but according to their statements Christ and the Holy Spirit were developed subsequently to Man and the Assembly. No thought, therefore, of deifying either can have had place in their minds. Neither Christ nor the Holy Spirit in their system belonged to the first or higher Ogdoad of the æons. See Norton's *Genuineness*, 1st edit. Vol. 3, pp. 113–130, and compare, in *Judaism*, a note on pp. 353, 354.

quently they were at any time together, they should, in remembrance of him, break bread and drink a cup of wine.

In the second century we find that Christians, in copying this custom, had mingled with it conceptions to which the Master nowhere alludes. Had they originated the Gospel narrative the simple request of Jesus would have worn a much more marvellous appearance

CHAPTER V.

DESIGNATIONS FOR GOD.

AMONG heathens the term god, equally as the term man, was a common noun, designating any or every god, but specifying no one in particular.¹ If they wished to specify some one god they did so by using his name.

Christians alleged, as already stated (see p. 36), that the Supreme Being was devoid of name: that he had no need of a name, since he had no equals from whom he needed to be distinguished. They said that he could not have a name because there was no one older than himself who could have named him.²

In addressing heathens, however, the Christians found constant need of using some designation for the Supreme Being, which should prevent their words from being misapplied to any other. Sometimes they termed him "the God without a name."³ In other instances they used

¹ See *Judaism at Rome*, pp. 2-4.

² See quotations in *Underworld Mission*, p. 152, note †; 3d edit. p. 146, note 5. Compare in the present work Ch. VIII. note 4.

³ Ἄνωρόματος, Tatian, *Orat.* 4; Just. Mart. *Apol.* 1, 63, p. 262 C. On this and other designations by Christians compare *Judaism*, p. 352, note 46. For designations used by Jews among heathens see *Judaism*, p. 4, note 4.

designations, several of which are subjoined with a slight attempt at classification.

"The true God"; "Him who is really God"; "the sole God"; "the unborn" or "unoriginated God"; "the first God"; "the ineffable God" or "the God not to be conversed with."⁴

"The Father of Justice"; "the Just Overseer"; "the God not to be swayed" nor "bribed."⁵

"The God free from suffering"; "the imperishable God"; "the ever-existing God"; "the eternal God."⁶

"The God of all things"; "the Master-God"; "The All-Ruler"; "King of the Heavens"; "God over the world."⁷

"The Creator"; "God the Maker"; "God, Maker of

⁴ Θεὸς ἀληθινός, Justin Martyr, *Apol.* **1**, 53, p. 242 C. ὁ ὄντως θεός, or θεὸς ὄντως ὢν, Just. *Apol.* **1**, 13, p. 164 E; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 23, *Paed.* **1**, 88, pp. 20, 150. ὄντως μόνος ὢν, Clem. Alex. *Paed.* **1**, 71, p. 140. θεὸς ἀγέννητος, Cohort. ad Græcos, 22, p. 66 A; Just. Mart. *Apol.* **1**, 14, 25, 49, 53, **2**, 6, 12, 13, pp. 66 A, 164 B, 190 B, 234 B, 240 A, 296 D, 310 C, 312 D; ἀγέννητος, Athenagoras, *Legat.* 4, 8, 22, pp. 20 B, 38 D, 108 B. ὁ πρῶτος θεός, Just. *Apol.* **1**, 60, p. 256 B. θεὸς ἀβήρητος, Just. *Apol.* **1**, 9, 61, **2**, 12, 13, pp. 154, D, 260 D, 310 C, 312 D.

⁵ Πατὴρ δικαιοσύνης, Just. *Apol.* **1**, 6, p. 148 C. τῶν πάντων ἐπόπτης δίκαιος, Just. *Apol.* **2**, 12, p. 310 A. θεὸς ἀτρεπτος, Just. *Apol.* **1**, 13, p. 164 A. οὐδὲ δωροδοκητέος, Tatian, *Orat.* 4.

⁶ Θεὸς ἀπαθής, Just. *Apol.* **1**, 25, p. 190 B; Athenag. *Legat.* 8, p. 38 D; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* **2**, 40, p. 450. θεὸς ἀφθαρτος, Just. *Dial.* 5, p. 28 D. θεὸς αἰεὶ ὢν, Cohort. ad Græc. 22; Just. *Apol.* **1**, 14, pp. 66 E, 164 A. αἰδιος, Cohort. ad Græc. 22, p. 66 A (comp. 25, 26, pp. 74 A B, 76 D); Athenag. *Legat.* 22, p. 108 B.

⁷ Τῶν πάντων θεός, Just. *Apol.* **1**, 58, p. 252 A. θεὸς συμπάντων, Clem. Alex. *Paed.* **1**, 74, p. 142. τῶν ὅλων θεός, *Strom.* **2**, 45, p. 453. δεσπότης or δεσπόζων θεός, Just. *Apol.* **1**, 12, 14, 32, 36, 40, 44, 46, 61 [bis], **2**, 6, pp. 162 A, 166 D, 206 C, 212 E, 218 A, 224 C, 230 D, 258 A D, 296 D. δεσπότης τῶν ὅλων, Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* **10**, 96, p. 77; Tatian, *Orat.* 5. παντοκράτωρ, Just. *Dial.* 16, 96, 139, 142, pp. 56 B, 328 A, 456 A, 462 D; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* **1**, 84; *Strom.* **4**, 172, pp. 148, 641. Theophilus, *ad Autol.* **1**, 4, p. 14 D. Βασιλεὺς τῶν οὐρανῶν, Just. *Apol.* **2**, 2, p. 288 C. ὑπὲρ κόσμον θεός, Just. *Dial.* 60, p. 200 A.

the world"; "Maker of the universe"; "Architect [of the world]." ⁸

"Parent of all things"; "Father of the universe"; "Father of things visible and invisible"; "Father of the Heavens" or simply "the Father," meaning "the Originator" or sometimes, in accordance with Jewish usage, "the watchful Parent." ⁹

Possibly some heathen may have treated these epithets as equivalent to names, since a Christian writer parries any such view. ¹⁰

If we turn to the Gospels we find that the appellatives for the Deity are simply those which had been common among Jews in their intercourse with each other. They show no traces of Christian effort to prevent heathen misconception.

⁸ Κτιστής, Just. *Apol.* 2, 6, p. 296 D. θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας, Just. *Apol.* 1, 58, p. 252 B. θεὸς τὸν πάντα κόσμον ποιήσας, Just. *Apol.* 2, 5, p. 294 A. τοῦ κόσμον ποιητής, Athenag. *Legat.* s [bis], 10, pp. 38 D, 42 C, 48-50. ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν πάντων, Just. *Apol.* 1, 20, 58, 67, pp. 180 C, 252 A, 268 D. ποιητὴς τοῦδε τοῦ παντός, Just. *Apol.* 1, 26, p. 194 B, Athenag. *Legat.* 4, 30, pp. 22 C, 160 D; *De Resurrect.* 18, p. 262 D. θεὸς δημιουργός, Just. *Apol.* 1, 8, 13, 23, 26, 58, 63, pp. 152 A, 162 C, 186 C, 192 A, 252 A, 264 B; Athenag. *Legat.* 10, 13, pp. 48-50, 58 B; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 1, 73, p. 141.

⁹ Θεὸς ἀπάντων γεννήτωρ, Just. *Apol.* 1, 13, p. 164 A. πατὴρ τῶν πάντων, Just. *Apol.* 1, 8, 12, 32, 40, 45, 46, 2, 6, pp. 152 A, 162 A, 206 B, 218 A, 228 D, 230 D, 296 D. πατὴρ τοῦ παντός, Athenag. *Legat.* 13, p. 58 B. πατὴρ τῶν ὄλων, Just. *Apol.* 1, 44, 61 [bis] 63 [ter], 65, pp. 224 C, 258 A D, 264 B C [bis], 266 D; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 1, 35, 68, 3, 40, pp. 129, 138, 278. πατὴρ αἰσθητῶν καὶ ἀοράτων, Tatian, *Orat.* 4. πατὴρ τῶν οὐρανῶν, Just. *Apol.* 2, 2, p. 288 C.

¹⁰ "The terms Father, and God, and Creator, and Lord, and Master, are not names, but appellations [derived] from his benefits and actions." — Just. Mart. *Apol.* 2, 6; *Opp.* 1, p. 296 D.

CHAPTER VI.

TERMS APPLIED TO CHRISTIANS.

§ 1. Ἀσεβείς, *Unbelievers*.

IN the contest between Judaism and heathenism, and subsequently in that of Judaism and Christianity against heathenism, certain terms came into existence as designations for those who had given up heathenism. During political embitterment the active use of these terms was such that we find them frequently occurring in historic literature. Had the Gospels been in process of formation during such times, it is hardly possible that some of these epithets should not have been mentioned, and that those deemed unjust should not have been condemned.

One of these terms was "Unbelievers." We find it in active use at Rome when Jesus was yet teaching in Judea, though then it can have applied only to monotheists, or their allies in the popular party. The aristocracy had endeavored by conspiracy and open revolt to overthrow Tiberius and crush the popular party. They had murdered many of its leaders and prominent members. When order was restored and the murderers were prosecuted for their crimes, they retorted with charges of Unbelief.¹ If the prosecutor alleged: You murdered my brother or my relative, the answer was: You do not believe in the Gods; or, You do not believe in the divinity of Augustus. A notable instance of this has been given in the latter half of note 14 in Ch. II. The aristocracy subsequently resorted to the same charge against others, whenever they deemed it for their political interest so to do.² Against Christians it was a common charge.

¹ For a fuller account see *Judaism*, p. 211, note 85, and for the political condition under which it occurred see the same work, pp. 531-534.

² See *Judaism*, pp. 7-10, 473-474, and 534, note 114.

The term Unbeliever, or Unbelievers, does not occur in the Gospels. This would have been very improbable if they or any of them had been fabricated in Europe, or perhaps even in Asia, at a later date.

§ 2. *Atheists.*

Towards the close of the first century the term ATHEISTS came into use as a designation for Christians. The use of this term was not confined to Italy or to Europe, for we find it used by the Jewish aristocracy in Judea. A relative of the Emperor Domitian was put to death on a charge of Atheism; and Polycarp was asked to save his life by saying, "Destroy the Atheists." The term must from the close of the first century have been actively in use as a designation for Christians, who of course earnestly denied the propriety of such usage.³ The term is not found in the Gospels.

§ 3. *Christians.*

The term CHRISTIANS⁴ came into use already in Apostolic times, as a designation for the followers of Jesus. It must have been widely current both in Europe and Asia before the last quarter of the first century.

Heathens sometimes altered the word *Christos* or *Christus*, Christ, to *Chrestos* and *Chrestus*, a term to which Clement of Alexandria gives an ethical meaning of his own and to which others objected.⁵

Neither of these terms occurs in the Gospels; their absence would be very remarkable were the Gospels fabricated in the second century, or even at the close of the first.

³ See citations from different writers in *Judaism*, pp. 473, 474, foot-notes 52-57.

⁴ "The disciples were called Christians first in Antioch." — **Acts 11**, 26. "Then Agrippa said to Paul: You almost persuade me to become a Christian." — **Acts 26**, 28. "Yet if any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed." — **1 Peter 4**, 16.

⁵ See *Judaism*, Ch. VIII. note 136.

§ 4. *Third Race.*

Christians occasionally spoke of themselves as a new, or distinct race,⁶ meaning to distinguish themselves from Jews and heathens. This prompted heathens to designate and persecute them as a "Third Race." No such term or allusion to it occurs in the Gospels.

CHAPTER VII.

TERMS USED BY CHRISTIANS.

§ 1. Ἀσεβής, ἀσέβεια, ἄνομος, ἀνομία.

CHRISTIANS equally with Jews, when brought into contact with Gentiles, needed terms to express the various classes of the latter. They designated a heathen as ἀσεβής, an Unbeliever. Heathenism they termed ἀσέβεια, Unbelief, or non-recognition of God. By ἄνομος, LAW-less, they understood a heathen, or a Monotheist who did not accept the ceremonial law; and by ἀνομία, LAW-lessness, the non-acceptance of this law. This special sense of the words law-less and law-lessness did not of course prevent their being used in their common signification of a transgressor and transgression.

These terms were in use, the first two in common use,

⁶ Peter uses it (1 Pet. 2, 9) in connection with nation and people, as one of several designations for Christians. See other uses of it in *Judaism*, p. 474. **Tertullian** stoutly objects to it. "Have Christians a different kind of teeth, or a different opening for their jaws? . . . We are called a third race, — dog-tailed, perhaps, or shadow-footed, or it may be Antipodes from below the earth. . . . Ridiculous madness. . . . But we are deemed a third race because of our religion not of our national origin as Romans or Jews." — *Ad Nat.* 1, 7, 8; p. 53 A D, edit. Rigault. Elsewhere he speaks of the heathen with their circus: "Where they can readily cry out, how long to the third race?" — *Scorpiace*, 10, p. 628 B.

among Christians outside of Judea, and are not infrequent in the Apostolic writings.¹ In the Gospels the first two do not occur, nor in the sense above mentioned is either of the latter to be found.² This would be difficult to account for, at least as regards the first two, if the Gospels were anything different from what they profess to be, honest records of events in Judea.

§ 2. *Σεβόμενος, φοβούμενος.*

These terms were common ones among Jews and Christians, resident in heathen communities, to designate a CONVERT to the belief in one God.³ The former of them does not occur in the Gospels, and the latter, though occurring twice in Luke (1, 50; 18, 2), is nowhere in the Gospels used in this peculiar sense.

§ 3. *Εὐσέβεια, εὐσεβής.*

Jews and Christians used the above terms to designate practical-monotheism and a practical Monotheist,⁴ one who lived in accordance with his obligation to God. These terms were common outside of Judea, and appear several times in the Apostolic writings,⁵ but are unknown to the Gospels.

¹ 'Ασεβής, Rom. 4, 5, 5, 6; 1 Tim. 1, 9; 1 Peter 4, 18; 2 Peter 2, 5, 3, 7; Jude, 4, 15. 'Ασέβεια, Rom. 1, 18, 11, 26; 2 Tim. 2, 16; Tit. 2, 12; Jude, 15, 18. 'Ανομος, Acts 2, 23; 1 Cor. 9, 21; 2 Thess. 2, 8; 1 Tim. 1, 9; 2 Peter 2, 8. 'Ανομία, Rom. 4, 7. On the use of this word see *Judaism*, pp. 467, 468.

² In Mark 15, 28, and Luke 22, 37, is the quotation from Isaiah (53, 12) "He was reckoned with the LAW-less," meaning apparently with transgressors, a use of the word different from that above noted. 'Ανομία occurs four times in Matthew, but nowhere in the specific sense above mentioned.

³ See quotations in *Judaism*, p. 471.

⁴ See quotations in *Judaism*, pp. 465-467.

⁵ Εὐσέβεια, Acts 3, 12; 1 Tim. 2, 2; 3, 16; 4, 7, 8; 6, 3, 5, 6, 11; 2 Tim. 3, 5; Tit. 1, 1; 2 Pet. 1, 3, 6, 7, 3, 11. Εὐσεβής, Acts 10, 2, 7; 22, 12; 2 Pet. 2, 9.

Closely related to the foregoing is the verb εἰσεβαῖν, to monotheize-practically, and the adverb εἰσεβῶς, practically monotheistic, which occur with sufficient frequency in Christian writers to strengthen the argument somewhat by their non-appearance in the Gospels.

§ 4. Θεοσέβεια, θεοσεβής.

These words with some of their cognates appear frequently in Christian writings of the second and third centuries,⁶ so that their absence from the Gospels, with the one exception noted below,⁷ would have been unlikely if they had been written or in course of accretion during the second century. The argument is less applicable to the Apostolic Age, because at that date the question of εἰσεβεία, practical-monotheism, that is, the question whether a man could PRACTICALLY recognize God without becoming a Jew, overlaid, as a subject of discussion, any question of mere conversion to monotheism.

§ 5. Ἀδελφοί, ξένοι, πάντες.

The first of these words, *Brethren*, came into use, at least among Jewish Christians, in the Apostolic Age to denote their fellow-Christians of Jewish origin.⁸ The second, *Foreigners*, was used to denote Christians of Gentile descent.⁹ The third term, *All Men*, was a designation for both classes, namely, Jews and Gentiles.¹⁰ In some

⁶ See *Judaism*, pp. 460-465.

⁷ In the Gospel of John (9, 31) θεοσεβής is represented as used by one who had been cured of blindness. Jesus is nowhere said to have uttered a word concerning θεοσεβεία, large as was this class of believers in God outside of Judea.

⁸ See *Judaism*, p. 255, note 211.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Rom. 3, 22, 23; 5, 12, 18; Gal. 3, 28; 3 John, 12. The Cohortatio ad Græcos (c. 14) contrasts the words Monotheists and *All Men*. Under the latter term its author intended to include reputed heathens. He may have had in mind Stoics, but more probably referred to the writers of certain Jewish documents temporarily in circulation with a professedly heathen authorship. On these documents, see *Judaism*, pp. 336-342.

cases it meant only such of these as had become Christians, though it is also used to designate non-Christians, whether Jew or Gentile.

In the peculiar sense above mentioned these words do not occur in the Gospels.

§ 6. *Δίκαιοι, Just Men.*

This was a term for those who, prior to the time of Moses, or else prior to the time of Abraham, were said to have been acceptable to God.¹¹ Two ages, or eras, of Just Men were recognized. In Irenæus these ages may have been from Adam to Noah and from Noah to Abraham. He uses the word patriarchs for those acceptable to God during the period from Abraham to Moses,¹² and the term prophets for subsequent teachers in the old dispensation.

In Justin Martyr¹³ and in Hermas¹⁴ the first age of Just Men must mean those from Adam to Abraham, who were deemed just without circumcision, and the second age those from Abraham to Moses who, though circumcised, did not observe the Mosaic Law.

¹¹ See *Underworld Mission*, 3d edit., pp. 5, 9, 11, 12, 21.

¹² "The whole remaining multitude of those who prior to Abraham were Just, and of those patriarchs who lived prior to Moses, were justified without the things already mentioned and without the Mosaic Law." — **Irenæus**, *cont. Hæres.* 4, 16, 2. Compare citation in Ch. II. note 11, where the second age of the world commences with Noah.

The "things already mentioned" mean circumcision and the sabbath, yet **Irenæus** inconsistently identifies (4, 15, 1) the *Decalogue* (which commands observance of the sabbath) with the "natural precepts which from the beginning God implanted in men," and speaks of precepts or a covenant (3, 11, 8) given through Noah. Compare 4, 16, 3. The covenant through Noah was, according to his Greek text, the first of four; the second being through Abraham, the third through Moses, and the fourth through Jesus.

¹³ The distinction of Just Men into two ages seems distinctly implied in Justin's *Dialogue*, 27, cited in Ch. II. note 11, though I believe that he nowhere uses the phrase "two ages of Just Men."

¹⁴ Compare *Similitude*, 9, 3, with its explanation in 9, 15, both cited in *Underworld Mission*, p. 58; 3d edit. p. 56.

In the Gospels the term Just Men occurs once (Matt. 13, 17), but without being used in a controversial sense. Not only is it there unopposed to those under the Law, but it is grouped with them as if they were parts of one whole.

§ 7. *Jesus Christ.*

While Jesus taught in Judea the question was debated whether he were the Christ. This term had not yet been conjoined to the word Jesus as part of one name. In the Gospels the Master is almost universally called Jesus, a term which occurs more than six hundred times.¹⁵ If the word Christ be at any time employed it is as an official title, usually with the prefix THE,¹⁶ and we also find Jesus THE Christ.¹⁷ The exceptions¹⁸ confirm, rather than militate against, the inference to be drawn from this usage.

¹⁵ In the Glasgow edition of Schmidt's *Concordance* the word Jesus, as quoted from the Gospels, occupies more than eleven and one half columns, and occurs about fifty-four times in each column.

¹⁶ Matt. 1, 17; 2, 4; 11, 2; 16, 16; 22, 42; 23, 8, 10; 24, 5, 23; 26, 63. Mark 8, 29; 12, 35; 13, 21; 14, 61; 15, 32. Luke 2, 26; 3, 15; 4, 41 (bis); 9, 20; 22, 67; 23, 35, 39. John 1, 20, 25, 41; 3, 28; 4, 25, 29, 42; 6, 69; 7, 26, 27, 31, 41 (bis); 42; 10, 24; 11, 27; 12, 34; 20, 31. In all these passages the article is in the Greek text prefixed.

In the following four instances the article is omitted, but the word Christ is nevertheless used as an official title. "A Savior who is [the] Christ, [the] Lord." — **Luke 2, 11.** "We found this man . . . alleging himself to be [the] Christ, [who is a] king." — **Luke 23, 2.** "If any one should acknowledge him [as the] Christ." — **John 9, 22.** "That they know Thee [as] the only true God, and thine envoy Jesus [as the] Christ." — **John 17, 3.**

¹⁷ Matt. 16, 20.

¹⁸ The exceptions will be better understood by classification under two heads, those which pertain to the ministry of Jesus and those which do not. To the former class belong two passages.

Mark 9, 41: "Whoever shall give you a drink of water in my name [*because you are Christ's*] I say to you in truth he shall not lose his reward." The question may be raised whether the bracketed words have been added in after times as an explanation. If so, they have in some authorities displaced part of those which precede them.

Had the Gospels been written, either in Apostolic or post-Apostolic times, by persons not conversant closely with the history of Jesus, the phraseology of these times would inevitably have been applied to the Master. Jesus Christ would have been a customary term.

CHAPTER VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

§ 1. *Public Games.*

In those provinces of the Roman Empire which were under control, not of the prince, but of the senate, public games were a common occurrence. In the western portion of the Empire, that is, in Italy, Gaul, North Africa (which must not be understood as including North Egypt), and perhaps in Greece and Spain, these barbarous amusements involved frequent destruction of human life, and were in some cases the means by which a political party in power wreaked its malignity on some of its opponents. Probably in Asia Minor and Syria the strong influence which the Jews exercised may have mitigated these barbarities. Public opinion may there and in North Egypt have condemned sacrifice of life for human amusement, and have rendered the Games comparatively harmless. Yet even these countries, or such of them as were under immediate control of the senate, were at times heavily taxed to furnish the pecuniary means for perpetrating

John 1, 17: "Favor and truth came through Jesus Christ." John speaks this in his own person. He wrote when old, and when the term Jesus Christ had become familiar as a name.

To the second class belong three passages, only one of which, if any, proceeded from an evangelist. They are Matt. 1, 1, 18 (concerning which see Appendix, Note N) and the heading of Mark's Gospel, 1, 1. These show how prone Christians would have been to use Christ as a name when not recording his actual history.

these barbarities on a grand scale elsewhere.¹ We find that such games, in a milder form perhaps, were being exhibited at Ephesus when Paul was there.²

At a later date in letters from Rome during Paul's first and second imprisonment, we find allusions to these games, prompted perhaps by some of them which had taken place in Italy.³

In post-Apostolic writers we not infrequently find men-

¹ See in *Judaism*, p. 72, mention of the Ædilitian tribute from which Cicero's brother had relieved the provincials.

² The Asiarchs mentioned (Acts 19, 31) were officers from different localities who superintended, or gave at their own expense, these games. Their presence at Ephesus renders it highly probable that the games were in course of exhibition when Paul was there. We find in a letter which he wrote at this date three or four allusions to, or illustrations taken from, the public games. Paley might have added to his *Horæ Paulinæ* this coincidence between the Acts and Paul's epistles. Asiarchs is in the common version not very expressively rendered by "chief of Asia."

Paul's allusions to the public games are as follows: "Know ye not, that of those who run in the race-course all run, but one receiveth the prize? Thus run, that ye may obtain. And every one who contendeth in the games is temperate in all things; they, however, to obtain a perishable crown, but we an imperishable. I therefore so run, not as one uncertain; I so fight, not as one striking the air." — **1 Cor. 9, 24-26**; *Noyes' trans.* "If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die." — **1 Cor. 15, 32**. "I think that God has exhibited us apostles last as [those in the public games] condemned to death." — **1 Cor. 4, 9**.

³ The Epistle to the Ephesians was written during Paul's first imprisonment at Rome. In it is the statement, "We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness." — **Ephes. 6, 12**. Again: In the Epistle to the **Philippians**: "Forgetting the things behind, and straining towards those before, I press toward the goal — the prize of the upward call from God through Christ Jesus." — **3, 13, 14**.

The **Writer to the Hebrews** borrows also a simile from these games. "Seeing we also are encompassed by so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which [like a cloak] might so easily entangle us, and let us run with endurance the race lying before us." — **12, 1**.

tion of, or illustrations taken from, these games.⁴ Christians were often sacrificed in them either by being pitted against wild beasts or in some other way. It would even seem that in the time of Claudius and Marc Antonine lions had been taught to slowly mangle their victims. At least the historian's language presents no intelligible meaning except this.⁵

In the Gospels we find from the Teacher of teachers no word on the subject of these games; no condemnation of them as barbarities; no answer put into the mouth of his followers, which might aid them in escaping; no word of encouragement to assist them in enduring these atrocities.

The second Epistle to Timothy was written during Paul's second imprisonment. In it he says, "If a man contend in the games, he is not crowned, unless he contend lawfully." — **2 Tim. 2, 5.**

⁴ See Clem. Alex. *Strom.* **2**, 110, cited in *Underworld Mission*, p. 97; 3d edit. p. 93. Even Christ is termed (**Doct. Orient.** § 58) "mighty athlete," and in **Letter from Lyons and Vienne** (Routh, *Reliq. Sac.* **1**, 311; Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.* Vol. **2**, 23, ed. Heinich.) "mighty and irresistible athlete." This letter is mainly devoted to an account of barbarities practised against Christians in that neighborhood during the public games. Among other atrocities mention is made (Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.*, Vol. **2**, p. 32, edit. Heinichen) of a Christian woman enclosed in a net and exposed for a bull to toss as an amusement to the brutal spectators. Compare in *Judaism*, p. 335, note 10, mention from the same letter of another victim. The question whether God (cp. Ch. III. § 11) were devoid of name seems to have been among test questions addressed to Christians. "Attalus, . . . being asked what name God has, answered: God has not a name like a human being." — **Eusebius, Ecc. Hist.** **5**, 1; Vol. **2**, p. 29, ed. Heinich. Tertullian devotes a treatise, *de Spectaculis*, to the subject of public games.

⁵ See Dio Cass. **60**, 13, **71**, 29, quoted in *Judaism*, pp. 75, 361. During the reign of Tiberius public butcheries in the games were not allowed. Under Caligula, probably during his illness, one such occurrence took place which caused him to abolish the games and to utter an earnest reproof to those who had been willing witnesses of such doings. It must have been the public opinion cultivated during these two reigns, which compelled Claudius to have the lion killed. Marc Antonine was a better man than Claudius, so that his permission for the torture and murder of human beings by a trained lion implies a degeneracy and growth of barbarism at Rome between A. D. 41 and A. D. 161.

§ 2. *Slavery.*

Slavery among the Jews must have been confined to the households of a few among their princes or rulers. In heathen or semi-heathen lands it was common, and at Rome it existed in an aggravated form so as to force itself constantly on public attention.⁶

In the Epistles we find references to slavery,⁷ though perhaps fewer than would have occurred had not Apostolic teaching found its chief supply of converts among the partly monotheized Greeks, rather than among the Latins.

In the Gospels Jesus is nowhere represented as lay-

⁶ See *Judaism*, pp. 86-89, 172 note 86, 315 note 109, 320 note 124, 455 note 130. A Roman law required, in case of a master being murdered, that all his slaves, innocent or guilty, should be executed. Such an atrocity took place in A. D. 61 (see *Judaism*, p. 88), though not without opposition from the people. Plutarch mentions (*Judaism*, p. 306) a law, probably of Domitian, that a slave, by giving up claim to freedom, could demand sale and change of master. Hadrian transferred to the Courts (*Judaism*, p. 325) the — under Trajan grossly abused — capital power of masters over slaves.

⁷ “Are you called being a bondman, do not feel concerned, but, moreover, if you can become free prefer to serve.” — **1 Cor. 7, 21.** The conclusion admits an opposite translation, — “Avail yourself of the opportunity.” “Bondmen, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ.” — **Ephes. 6, 5.** “Bondmen, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God.” — **Coloss. 3, 22.** “Masters, give unto your bondmen that which is just and equal; knowing that you also have a Master in heaven.” — **Coloss. 4, 1.** “Let as many bondmen as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.” — **1 Tim. 6, 1.** “Exhort bondmen to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things; not answering again.” — **Titus 2, 9.** The Epistle to Philemon was specially written with reference (see verses 10-21) to the bondman who carried it. “Slaves of the household, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward.” — **1 Peter 2, 18**

In the foregoing the word translated bondman usually designates one who is so born.

ing down rules for the relation between master and slave, or as teaching specially either the permissibility or the wrongfulness of slavery. Three times in them we find the recorded mention of a born bondman or bondmen, δοῦλος, δούλοι,⁸ but no mention of, or allusion to, ἀνδράποδον, one who has been made a slave, large as was this unhappy class among heathens.

§ 3. *Two Wars.*

In the history of Judea during the first and second centuries we find two wars, one beginning in the reign of Nero, and the other in that of Hadrian, which could scarcely have escaped mention in the Gospels if these had been fabrications or accretions during this period. No gift was more lauded by public opinion than the capacity of foretelling future events, and persons in preparing a fictitious narrative would almost assuredly have put into the mouth of Jesus predictions as to the course and termination of both contests. In the former of these wars the temple was destroyed.⁹ Immediately before, or during, the latter a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was placed on its site.¹⁰

⁸ Jesus is represented as curing the bondman of a centurion. Matt. 8, 5-13. Compare Luke 7, 2-10. A nobleman is represented as being told by his bondmen that his son had recovered. John 4, 51. Two bondmen of the high priest are also mentioned. John 18, 10, 26. Compare Matt. 26, 51, Mark 14, 47, Luke 22, 50.

⁹ According to Josephus (*Wars*, 6, 4, 5), it was burned, the burning being due to the unauthorized act of an individual soldier contrary to the will of Titus. According to Orosius, 7, 9 (cited in Ch. IX. note 2), Titus had it destroyed AFTER BEING DECLARED EMPEROR by the army. Any such declaration — placing him in antagonism to his father — must have come from the patrician element, which was to be found more among the officers than among the soldiers. A statement by Josephus (*Wars*, 6, 4, 7) that Titus with his officers entered the Holy of Holies, accords best with the last-mentioned narrative. Titus, even if reluctant to destroy the temple, was easily swayed by patricians, so as usually to become their tool. Compare Sibyl. Orac. 1, 393, 394, quoted in Appendix, Note J. No. 1.

¹⁰ See *Judaism*, pp. 325, 326.

§ 4. *Philosophy.*

In the Greek-speaking countries where Judaism had preceded Christianity, the term Philosophy frequently designated love of moral wisdom, a use of the term which was carried by the Stoics and their disciples into Europe.¹¹ The same term was used for mental speculations of various kinds.

In the former of these significations Clement of Alexandria doubtless uses it when he speaks of Philosophy as a schoolmaster,¹² preparing the Greeks as the Law did the Jews for Christianity. The different senses of the word were often confused by indiscriminating minds.

Christians were divided in their views as to the origin of Philosophy. Some thought that it came from the Devil; others that it came from the Deity.¹³ The respec-

¹¹ See *Judaism*, p. 49 n.

¹² "We should not err in saying that Philosophy was given to the Greeks, especially as a 'Testament' [or 'covenant'] of their own, it being a basis of the philosophy which is according to Christ." — *Clem. Alex. Strom.* 6, 67; *Opp.* 3, 138. Clement quotes as words of the Deity the passage (*Jer.* 31, 31, 32; *Heb.* 8, 8, 9): "'I appoint you a new covenant [testament], not as I appointed to your fathers in Mount Horeb.' He appointed a new one to you [Christians], since those of the Greeks and Jews were antiquated." — *Strom.* 6, 41; *Opp.* 3, 122. "Justly therefore the Law [was given] to the Jews but Philosophy to the Greeks until the coming [of Christ]." — *Strom.* 6, 159; *Opp.* 3, 198.

"Those who proclaim the atheism of Epicurus and pleasure [as life's object], and whatever else contrary to true teaching has been sowed in Grecian philosophy, are spurious fruits of an agriculture divinely given to the Greeks." — *Strom.* 6, 67, (*al.* 8); *Opp.* p. 774.

¹³ "Let those who say that Philosophy proceeds from the Devil understand what the Scripture says, that the Devil transforms himself into an angel of light. . . . But if he teaches as an angel of light, he speaks what is true." — *Clem. Alex. Strom.* 6, 66; *Opp.* p. 773. "Those who say that Philosophy is not from God incur danger." — *Strom.* 6, 156; *Opp.* p. 321. "Greek Philosophy, as some [think], is accidentally, somehow, possessed of the truth faintly and imperfectly, and as others will have it, is prompted by the Devil." — *Strom.* 1, 80; *Opp.* p. 366. "Some think that from an evil man [or the evil one] Philosophy has crept into life for the ruin of men." — *Strom.* 1, 18; *Opp.* p. 326, Potter's edition.

tive antiquity of Jewish and heathen views mingled with this debate. Greek Philosophy was alleged to have been pirated from Judaism.¹⁴ Much of the dispute as to whether this Philosophy came from God or the Devil may have been due to difference in the disputants as to the kind of teaching which they intended to designate.

We find allusions to philosophy in the Apostolic¹⁵ and early Christian writings,¹⁶ but not in the Gospels. Jesus

¹⁴ "All things concerning immortality of the soul or punishment after death . . . which Philosophers and poets spoke they were enabled to understand by taking their leading ideas from the Prophets." — **Justin Martyr**, *Apol.* **1**, 44. "The poets and philosophers stole from the Sacred Scriptures." — **Theophilus**, *ad Autol.* **1**, 14. "They [the heathen writers] uttered what accords with the Prophets, though they were much later and stole these things from the Law and the Prophets." — *Ad Autol.* **2**, 37. "Moses is manifestly older than the aforesaid old heroes, wars, demons, and we should trust the older rather than those Greeks who have from his fountain unintelligently drawn his teachings." — **Tatian**, *Orat.* 40. "For they [your teachers] were necessitated by the divine foreknowledge of the [prophetic] men to speak though unwillingly concerning us, especially those who had been in Egypt and been profited by the monotheism of Moses and his ancestors." — **Cohort. ad Græcos**, 14. **Clement** says: "We may show that the Hebrew Philosophy is older by many generations [than the Greek]." — *Strom.* **1**, 64; *Opp.* p. 353. "Philo, the Pythagorean, shows that of all these [previously mentioned] the Jewish race is by much the oldest, and written Philosophy among them much preceded that of the Greeks." — *Strom.* **1**, 72; *Opp.* p. 360. "Of these things the Greek Philosophers were the stealers and plunderers, taking before the Lord's coming from the Hebrew Prophets part of the truth, not intelligently." — *Strom.* **1**, 87; *Opp.* p. 369. "Concerning the tenets of Philosophers having been cunningly put together from those of the Hebrews, we shall, after a little, treat in detail, but now must speak of the times after Moses, through which will be shown beyond question that of all wisdom the Hebrew Philosophy is the oldest." — *Strom.* **1**, 101; *Opp.* p. 378, Potter's edition.

¹⁵ "The Greeks seek after wisdom." — **1 Cor.** **1**, 22. "Then certain philosophers of the Epicureans, and of the Stoics, encountered him." — **Acts** **17**, 18.

¹⁶ **Justin Martyr** wore a philosopher's cloak, and, on the title-page of his writings, the term "philosopher" is appended to his name. He tells us: "Philosophy is in reality the greatest acquirement and most

is nowhere represented as saying a word for or against it. He neither commends it to his disciples as coming from God nor cautions them against it as an invention of the Devil.

Two different sects of philosophers are mentioned by name once in the Apostolic,¹⁷ and, with others, frequently in early Christian writings,¹⁸ but no mention of them by Jesus is found in the Gospels.

honored by God, to whom it alone leads and unites us." — *Dial.* 2; *Opp.* 2, p. 8 C. "This [predicted Christian] Philosophy alone I found safe and profitable." — *Dial.* 8; *Opp.* 2, p. 32 C. edit. Otto.

"Plato thinks that there are Philosophers among Barbarians [i. e. non-Grecians], but Epicurus conceives that only Greeks can philosophize." — *Clem. Alex. Strom.* 1, 67; *Opp.* p. 355. "As children dread hobgoblins, thus the multitude dread Grecian Philosophy, fearing lest it should carry them off." — *Strom.* 6, 80; *Opp.* p. 780.

"The authority of Physical Philosophers gives protection as being a possession of wisdom. Truly the wisdom of philosophers is unadulterated, whose weakness is in the first place attested by the variety of their opinions proceeding from their ignorance of the truth. But who can be wise if devoid of truth, if he does not know God, the Father and Lord of wisdom and truth?" — *Tertullian, ad Nat.* 2, 2; *Opp.* p. 65 A. These citations, and those which have been given in notes 12, 13, 14, are but a small portion of what appear in the early Christian writers.

¹⁷ See note 15.

¹⁸ The names of one or more of the Philosophic sects, Stoics, Epicureans, Eleatics, Platonics, Peripatetics, Pythagoreans, and others appear in Cohort. ad Græcos, 4; Just. Mart. *Apol.* 1, 20 (twice), 2, 7 (twice), *Dial.* 2 (five times), *Opp.* 1, pp. 22 A, 180 C, 298 D E, 300 A B, 310 E, 2, 8 C E A, 10 B D; Tatian, *Orat.* 9; Athenagoras, *Supplicat.* 6, 19, 22 (twice); Theophilus, *ad Autol.* 2, 4, 3, 5, 6; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 66 (*al.* 5 twice); *Strom.* 1, 51, 62, 63, 64 (*al.* 11, 14 three times), 2, 19, 34, 54, 101, 129, 138 twice (*al.* 4, 7, 12, 19, 21, 23 twice), 3, 24 (*al.* 3), 4, 19, 28, 123 twice (*al.* 5, 6, 19 twice), 5, 9, 58, 59, 60, 90, 93, 94, 96, 98, 101, 106, 140 (*al.* 1, 9 three times, 14 eight times), 6, 27, 139 (*al.* 2, 16), 7, 37, 88 (*al.* 7, 14), 8, 4, 10 twice (*al.* 2, 4 twice), *Opp.* pp. 58 bis, 346, 352, 353 bis, 438, 447, 458, 482, 497, 503 bis, 521, 572, 575, 618, 619, 649, 680 bis, 681, 699, 701, 702, 703, 705, 708, 712, 732, 752, 811, 852, 886, 915, 920; Potter's edition. In Origen, there are, according to the Index of de la Rue, thirty-five references to the Stoics, six to the Epicureans, fifteen to the Platonists, and sixteen to the Pythagoreans. The works of

§ 5. *Dress.*

When Christianity spread outside of Judea it came in contact with Greek and Roman society equally as with the Jewish. Wealthy heathens were often addicted to outside display,¹⁹ and this tendency was not held in check among them, as among Jews, by a sense of responsibility to God, or by correct views as to the object of life.²⁰ We find in the Apostolic times that a word of caution is given on the subject of Dress, both by Paul²¹ and by Peter,²² and fuller attention is given to it by Christian authors of a subsequent date.²³

Tertullian, according to Semler's Index, mention the Stoics five times and the Epicureans five times.

Besides the foregoing the leaders or disciples of the different philosophical sects are mentioned, or in some writers quoted, even more frequently than the sects themselves. Compare note 53.

¹⁹ See in *Judaism* (p. 455, note 130) the remarks of Dio Chrysostom. The remarks of Dio Cassius (57, 11) cited in *Judaism*, p. 509, imply that the absence of display commended in Tiberius was something unusual.

Pliny Senior mentions (*Nat. Hist.* 33, 19, 5) that he stood near Agrippina when she wore a cape woven of gold without admixture of other material. This was during the naval battle on Lake Fucinus (Tacitus, *Ann.* 12, 56), where persons obnoxious to the party in power were compelled to murder each other for the gratification of their enemies. It is little to Pliny's credit, considering his earlier friendships (see remarks on Pomponius in *Judaism*, pp. 209–211), that he should have been present at the scene.

²⁰ The term heathens must not be understood as including a large class of Gentile monotheists, whose sense of responsibility to God and whose views of life may sometimes have compared favorably with those of their Jewish brethren.

²¹ "In like manner also, that women, in seemly attire, adorn themselves with modesty and sobriety, not with braided hair, and gold, or pearls, or costly apparel; but, as becometh women professing monotheism, with good works." — **1 Tim. 2, 9, 10**, *Noyes' trans. altered.*

²² "Whose adorning, let it not be the outward adorning of braiding the hair, and of wearing golden ornaments, or of putting on apparel; but the hidden being of the heart in the imperishable [adornment] of a meek and quiet spirit which is in the sight of God a costly [adornment]." — **1 Peter 3, 3, 4**, *Noyes' trans. altered.*

²³ Tertullian wrote two works concerning woman's dress, and one on

Had Christians outside of Judea composed the Gospels from their own conceptions of what a teacher should say, the subject of Dress would scarcely have been omitted.

§ 6. *Origin of Evil.*

This subject has been partly anticipated under the head of Controversies. An opinion among Jews outside of Judea was that the world had grown old,²⁴ and that the diseases of age were upon it. This view was adopted by the Stoics.²⁵ The Gnostics laid stress upon two points as

the wearing of veils by virgins. **Clement of Alexandria** "takes occasion to speak of the proprieties of dress, and particularly female dress; and enters minutely into a description of a lady's toilet. He condemns all extravagance, and a disposition to seek 'the rare and expensive in preference to that which is at hand and of low price.' He will not allow ladies to wear 'dyed garments'; but he insists on the use of veils, which must not be purple to attract the gaze of men. A chapter follows on covering for the feet, as sandals, and slippers on which it was customary to bestow great expense, and another, on ornaments of gold and precious stones. On this subject, it seems, the ladies of Alexandria did not unresistingly submit. They ventured to argue the case with the holy father. 'Why,' say they, 'should we not use what God has given? Why should we not take pleasure in that we have? For whom were precious stones intended, if not for us?' This was bringing the argument home: but Clement found means to reply, by pointing out the distinction between what is necessary, as water and air, and lies open to all; and what is not necessary, as gold and pearls, which lie concealed beneath the earth and water, and are brought up by criminals, who are 'set to dig for them.' Other arguments he employs. But the advocates for the use of ornaments rejoin, 'If all are to select the common and frugal, who is to possess the more expensive and magnificent?' To this Clement replies, somewhat obscurely and clumsily, by a reference to what it may be proper for men to use, if they avoid setting too high a value on it, and contracting too great a fondness for it. He concludes the discussion by objecting to particular articles of female ornament, or ornaments of a particular form; that of the serpent, for example, which was the form under which Satan tempted Eve, and therefore to be abjured."—**Lamson**, *Church of the First Three Centuries*, pp. 137, 138.

²⁴ See Ch. II. note 30.

²⁵ See *Judaism*, note on pp. 56, 57.

causing imperfection in the world, namely, that self-existent matter, from which it was made, was imperfect, and that the Jewish God who made the world was but an imperfect being.²⁶ The mass of Christians held that the heathen deities, who had in some way obtained control of the world, were (see Ch. III. § 1) chief authors of its evils. Several other explanations had more or less currency.²⁷ Compare *Judaism*, p. 362, note 12.

In the Gospels Jesus is not represented as trying to solve this problem for his followers.

§ 7. *Sibylla, Bacis, Hystaspes.*

Before the Christian era a document in the name of Sibylla had been fabricated by a Jew.²⁸ It and subsequent documents under the same name were used by the popular party at Rome in their contests with the aristocracy. Some Christians also used them very freely, so as to bring on themselves the epithet "Sibyllists."²⁹

²⁶ "Of this problem [the existence of evil] the solution peculiar to the Gnostics was twofold. . . . They taught, on the one hand, that the Creator was an inferior and imperfect being, and, on the other, that evil was inherent in matter."—**Norton**, *Genuineness*, Vol. 3, p. 5, 1st edit. On the subject of evil as inherent in matter, a passage of Paul may be compared: "I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection: lest that by any means when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway."—**1 Cor. 9**, 27.

²⁷ **Theophilus** (*ad Autol.* 2, 17; *Opp.* p. 106 B) maintains that beasts originally were not destructive. "For nothing evil originated from God, but all things were excellent, exceedingly so." He argues that if the head of a household do right or wrong, his domestics will imitate him; that when man, the lord of the earth, sinned, his slaves (that is, the animal creation) followed his example. "When, therefore, man shall ascend to what befits his nature, no longer doing evil, they also will be restored to their original mildness." Cp. **Irenæus**, cited in Ch. III. note 21.

²⁸ See *Judaism*, Appendix, Note A, § 2, and compare in the present work p. 19.

²⁹ This epithet is used by **Celsus** (**Origen**, *cont. Cels.* 5, 61) and complained of by **Origen**, who says that Christians making such use of the Sibylline writings were blamed by some of their fellow-Christians for so doing.

A composition frequently mentioned with Sibylla was named *Dacis*. It was probably moral rather than theological.³⁰

Another document also mentioned usually in connection with Sibylla was *Hystaspes*.³¹ It may have been of Stoic origin, interpolated by a Christian. It was predictive in character.

The Gospels contain no allusion to, or use of, these documents.

§ 8. *Prediction and Inspiration.*

The Jewish view of Inspiration, though not excluding the idea of Prediction, gave prominence to the idea of moral teaching under the influence of or by authorization from God, a view transmitted to not a few Christians.³²

The heathen view had no connection with moral teaching. It regarded the inspired person as for the time being insane,³³ and unguided by any operation of his or her mind, but controlled wholly by a divine power. The only object of this inspiration was in heathen eyes the prediction of future events.

Some Christians seem to have taken in large degree the heathen view of Inspiration.³⁴

This view nowhere appears in the Gospels.

³⁰ See *Judaism*, pp. 454–459.

³¹ See *Judaism*, pp. 459, 460.

³² “The men of God filled with holy spirit and becoming *προφῆται*, public teachers, being inspired by God himself and rendered wise, became God-instructed and holy and just. Wherefore they were thought worthy to receive in return this reward, [namely,] that of becoming instruments of God, and possessed of the wisdom which is from him, through which wisdom they uttered what pertained to the creation of the world and all other things, for they predicted pestilence and famines and wars. Not one [merely] or two, but several existed at different times and seasons among the Hebrews, but also Sibylla among the Greeks. . . . And first they taught with one accord that [God] made all things out of nothing.” — *Theophilus, ad Autol.* 2, 9, 10.

³³ See *Judaism*, p. 415, note 52.

³⁴ *Athenagoras*, addressing the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus

§ 9. *Spurious Converts.*

In Apostolic times we find allusion to converts who did little credit to the Christianity which they professed.³⁵

and his son, says : “ You, who exceed others in understanding and piety as regards what is truly divine (*or* the true divinity), would pronounce it unreasonable [that we], giving up belief in the spirit of God which moved the MOUTHS of the prophets as its instruments, should attend to human teaching.” — *Supplicat.* 7. “ I think that you, being especial lovers of learning and highly gifted with understanding, are not unacquainted with the [writings] of Moses, or of Isaiah, or of Jeremiah, or of the other prophets, who, being OUT OF THEIR SENSES, under impulse of the Divine Spirit uttered what was instilled into them, the Divine Spirit using [them] as a flute-player a flute.” — *Supplicat.* 9.

Justin at an earlier date seems to teach the same view in his *Dialogue*, ch. 115 ; *Opp.* 2, p. 382 B, edit. Otto.

“ A man who is in the spirit, especially when he sees the glory of God or speaks with God, must of necessity be out of his senses, being overshadowed by Divine power, concerning which [point] is the dispute between us and the *psychicos* non-spiritual.” — *Tertullian, adv. Marcion.* 4, 22. He had in the preceding sentence identified ecstasy (the condition of the prophet) with *amentia*, which, as used by him, meant temporary insanity.

³⁵ See 1 Cor. 5, 1, 11, 13 ; 6, 8. 2 Peter 2, 13–15. I also understand Paul as referring in the following passage to morally unworthy converts, who for their own purposes misapplied his doctrine of exemption from the Mosaic (ritual) Law. “ A pillar and basis of the truth and confessedly grand is the secret of practical-monotheism, — which has been manifested in human lives, attested by miraculous power in the most public manner ” (more literally, in the sight of angels, or, to use a modern expression, in the sight of heaven), “ has been proclaimed among the Gentiles, has found credence in the world and been honorably accepted, — but the Spirit expressly says that in the last times some will fall away from the faith, adhering to deceitful spirits, and to teachings of heathenized men, hypocritically false, cauterized in their conscience.” — 1 Tim. 3, 15–4, 2. On the persons whom Paul had specially in view compare *Judaism*, p. 250.

A Jew, or Judaizer, could boast that he carried in his flesh the evidence of his practical-monotheism. Paul probably had this in mind when he speaks of his practical-monotheism as manifested in the flesh, that is, in the lives of those who professed it.

In the second century we find that persons deemed unworthy were debarred from the Lord's Supper.³⁶ At a later date church discipline became more systematic, and had numerous details for those subjected to it.

In the Gospels the Master gives no specific direction for dealing with nominal though unworthy followers.

§ 10. *Chronology and Divisions of Time.*

The Romans counted time by the annual consulships. The Greeks, scattered in different localities, counted it in a variety of ways. We find that Josephus uses the Macedonian months³⁷ in giving the date at which various events happened.

Had the Gospels been partly or wholly fictitious and grown up outside of Judea, it seems morally impossible that their composers should not have inserted some Greek or Roman divisions of time, as a means of increasing credence for their work. We find, however, no allusion to the Greek divisions of time, though Christianity during the first two centuries found the larger part of its converts from among Greeks; nor do we find the most accustomed Roman chronology. Luke, a physician of Syria, mentions a taxation as commencing when Cyrenius was governor of that province,³⁸ and states that John began to preach in the fifteenth year of Tiberius.³⁹

³⁶ See citations from Justin Martyr, *Apol.* **1**, 66, in Ch. IV. note 16.

³⁷ See *Judaism*, p. 555.

³⁸ Luke **2**, 2. The mention of Cyrenius seems natural enough in a Syrian who had either lived under the administration of that governor or else associated with others who had. Such mention would have been unlikely a century later, for at that date it would have conveyed a fixed idea of time to no one outside of Syria, and to very few inside of it.

³⁹ Luke **3**, 1, 2. In the divisions of provinces between emperor and senate (see *Judaism*, pp. 83–85) Syria was one of the provinces under control of the emperor. It was natural that those who were, as the inhabitants of Syria, more immediately subject to the emperor than to the senate, should sometimes fix dates by the year of the emperor under whom they had lived. Had the Gospels grown up in Asia Minor or in any senatorial province, such record of time would be unlikely.

§ 11. *Temporary Disuse of the Words JESUS and CHRIST*
by one School of Christians.

The extant works of Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus, written about Marc Antonine's time, and the perhaps later Epistle to Diognetus, while deifying the Master, ignore the appellation Jesus or Christ.⁴⁰ Three considerations may aid in discerning their motives.

Jews and Stoics had used the word Logos⁴¹ to designate God's agency or interposition. Under the Stoic emperor Marc Antonine it may have been deemed a safer or more dignified title than Jesus or Christ.⁴²

Again: Celsus or other heathens may have already ridiculed the personal appearance of Jesus,⁴³ and on this account Christian controversialists may have sought a term not associated with the human body.

Again: The party in power, during the reign in question, was strongly reactionary and laid great stress on ancient usage. In meeting this tendency Christians may have wished to represent the teacher of their religion as more ancient than anything which heathenism could boast. In doing this they were tempted to ignore him who had lived less than two centuries previously, and to personify a teacher older than mankind.

If we now turn to the Gospels we find in one of them

⁴⁰ In Theophilus 3, 24, Ἰησοῦς means Joshua. The four writers occupy (with translation) in Otto's edition 784 pages.

Of writers in the second century who do NOT deify the Master, HERMAS is the only one of considerable length who calls him neither Jesus nor Christ, though Wake's version twice uses the latter word. Hermas styles him Son, Son of God; rarely Lord, never Logos. His non-mention of the Master in *Command I.* is noteworthy. The Clementine Homilies, also written under Marc Antonine, use nearly forty times the words Jesus or Christ, or Jesus Christ. In the THIRD century Minucius Felix uses neither word.

The *De Monarchia*, *Oratio ad Græcos*, and *Hermias* are brief treatises whose plan scarcely claimed mention of the Master. They do not identify him with the Logos, which in the *Oratio* (§ 5) means teaching.

⁴¹ See *Judaism*, pp. 50, 358.

⁴² See p. 199.

⁴³ See Ch. III. § 14.

a preliminary statement⁴⁴ concerning the Logos which has been understood in opposite senses, as affirming or as denying its separate existence. There is, however, in John's Gospel, as in the others, no effort to avoid using the words Jesus or Christ. Had any of the Gospels been in process of formation during this period, the word Logos would, in the school mentioned above, have replaced the more usual terms for the Savior. The argument applies only to a limited period of time.

§ 12. *Natural Science.*

European heathens, in discussing theological questions, such as the nature or character of the Divine Being and the future life, mingled into their discussions matters of natural science. The probable explanation of this is that they found in the Greek teaching of partly monotheized lands views of theology and natural science which were new to them and which they associated. In Plato's treatise on the immortality of the soul the earth is mentioned as a sphere;⁴⁵ an explanation of volcanoes is given, and a statement is made touching water, which implies that the doctrine of gravitation had been dimly if not clearly reached.⁴⁶

In Cicero's work on *Divination* we find mentioned the order of the planets. It is stated that Venus and Mercury were between the earth and the sun, while the others were more remote.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ John 1, 1.

⁴⁵ *Phædo*, 132; *Opp.* edit. Ast. 1, p. 596 E. The spherical form of the earth seems to have been inferred (see Dio Cass. 60, 26) from the shadow which it cast on the moon during eclipses of the latter. Dio speaks of the shadow as conical. He must have deemed the sun opposite the base of said cone, and therefore much larger than the earth.

⁴⁶ *Phædo*, 139-141; *Opp.* edit. Ast. 1, pp. 602, 606. Plato alleges that the waters flow down into the earth on either [every?] side as far as the middle, but that the opposite side (606 E) would be "uphill." He talks, however, like a man retailing ideas to which he had listened and which he but imperfectly comprehended.

⁴⁷ *De Divinat.* 2, 91, *al.* 43. Compare 2, 10, *al.* 3, and 146, *al.* 71.

Seneca, the Stoic, belonged to a sect whose views were borrowed almost entirely from these monotheized lands. In his writings the revolution of the earth on its axis is stated as a theory held by several.⁴⁸

Marcion, the Gnostic, interwove with his system the belief in three heavens,⁴⁹ which seems to have prevailed in Asia Minor.

In the Ascension of Isaiah we find mention of seven heavens, the system adopted by the Greeks in Egypt.⁵⁰ Clement of Alexandria seems to have shared this view.⁵¹

The Valentinian Gnostics interwove into their system the seven heavens already mentioned, and superadded a Pleroma, which was doubtless the supposed sphere of the fixed stars, — a sphere which we find mentioned in Cicero.⁵²

The Gospels put into the mouth of Jesus no word on the subject of natural science. It is at least probable, if they had been fabricated from the fancy of his followers, that some one would have endeavored to make him seem wise in this direction.

⁴⁸ Seneca raises the question "whether the universe revolves, the earth being quiescent, or whether the earth revolves, the universe being quiescent. For there have been those who said that we [on earth] were the ones whom, unconsciously to ourselves, the order of nature carries around, and that rising and setting is not caused by motion of the heaven." — *Nat. Quæst.* 7, 2.

⁴⁹ Tertullian, *adv. Marcion*, 1, 14, cited in *Underworld Mission*, § XXI. note 12. I surmise that one heaven was assigned to the moon, one to the sun, and a third to the stars.

⁵⁰ The sun, moon, and five then known planets were each regarded as occupying a distinct heaven.

⁵¹ See *Underworld Mission*, § XXI. 3.

⁵² *De Repub.* 6, 10; *Somn. Scip.* 4. The latter of these documents is in Greek, the former in Latin. One, however, is a mere duplicate or translation of the other. The document in Greek contains (see *Judaism*, Ch. VII. note 23) a number of expressions technical in Jewish theology and obviously borrowed from Judaism.

§ 13. *Literary Heathens.*

Certain literary characters among the heathens, such as Plato, Homer, and others, are discussed, some of them copiously, by Christians⁵³ in the second and third quarters of the second century. Had the Gospels been at that date in process of formation, some criticism upon these heathen writers would almost inevitably have been put into the Master's mouth.

§ 14. *Persecutions.*

Any remarks of Jesus⁵⁴ on the subject of persecution are far less full than they would have been made by his followers in the second century.

⁵³ The references to Plato in the Indexes of various authors are as follows : In Justin Martyr, forty-five ; in Clement of Alexandria, ninety-three ; in Tatian, three ; in Athenagoras, ten ; in Theophilus, thirteen ; in Vol. 1 of de la Rue's Origen, sixty-three, and in Vol. 4, twenty-five ; in Irenæus, four.

The references to Homer are : In Justin Martyr, eighteen ; in Tatian, five ; in Athenagoras, five ; in Theophilus, six ; in Irenæus, nine ; in Clement of Alexandria, fifty-six ; in Vol. 1 of de la Rue's Origen, eleven, and in Vol. 4, one.

⁵⁴ "You will be hated by all men for my sake. . . . When they persecute you in one town, fly to another ; and if they drive you from that town, fly to yet another." — **Matt. 10**, 22, 23. "They will lay hands on you and persecute you ; they will deliver you over to synagogues, and put you in prison, and bring you before kings and governors for my sake." — **Luke 21**, 12. "If they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also." — **John 15**, 20. "They will put you out of their synagogues ; nay, the hour is coming, when he who kills you will think that he is offering a sacrifice to God." — **John 16**, 2, *Norton's trans.* The disciples would as yet have failed to comprehend a mission to the Gentiles had it been foretold to them.

CHAPTER IX.

ROMAN POLITICS.

§ 1. *Emperors.*

HAD the Gospels undergone accretion in Italy it is almost impossible that they should have contained no allusions to the emperors who influenced the external history of monotheism. No allusion, however, is made in them to any emperor whose reign began later than the ministry of Jesus. In respect to some of the emperors this would be a remarkable fact if the Gospels were not honest efforts to record the life of Jesus by persons conversant with what they narrated. Two of the emperors who became prominent in Christian theology have already been mentioned.¹ Others became prominent in the history of monotheism.

Under Titus, who had been left by his father in command of the army, the temple at Jerusalem was destroyed. This must have been done by advice of the patrician faction, who were prompting him to rebellion against his father. While hesitating to rebel, he hesitated to destroy the temple; when he decided on rebellion, the temple fell.² He afterwards assumed a crown at Alexandria, but his father must have found means to reclaim him.

¹ See Ch. III. §§ 8, 9.

² Titus "deliberated long whether he should burn [the temple] as being an incitement to enemies, or whether he should preserve it as a testimonial of victory. . . . Titus, [on] being proclaimed emperor by the army, burned and pulled down the temple in Jerusalem." — **Orosius**, 7, 9; *Opp.* pp. 479, 480. "You with iron teeth gnawed the house." — **Sibyl. Orac.** 3, 329. Josephus states (*Wars*, 6, 4, 5) that a soldier set the building on fire, contrary to the will of Titus. His object probably was to shield that emperor from odium incurred by the transaction. He was often accommodating to the wishes of patricians (cp. *Judaism*, Ch. V. note 126, with Ch. II. note 26), and they not infrequently, after carrying their point, liked to throw the odium of it upon others.

The only allusion in the Gospels to destruction of the temple³ is accompanied by the remark, "Of that day and hour knoweth no man . . . NEITHER THE SON, but the Father."⁴ This cannot have come from a Christian anxious to magnify his Master's foreknowledge.

The reign of Domitian, under whom, though perhaps contrary to his will, Monotheists were murdered and expelled,⁵ would, if the Gospels were fictions, have probably been foretold.

Hadrian would hardly have escaped mention. He executed some of the aristocracy, and, as a matter of course, was deemed unfaithful to heathenism and to its deities. In order to regain standing as an orthodox heathen, he thought it necessary to commit the folly of stripping himself to nudity, and in this condition, in a public place, tugged an unfortunate lamb to an altar on which he sacrificed it. A medal is still extant commemorating the procedure.⁶ He carried on war against the Jews, but gave some protection at least to Christians.

Trajan, the warrior, who preceded Hadrian, and the Antonines who followed him, would scarcely have escaped mention.

In the Sibylline Oracles we find all these emperors foretold. In Book 5, ll. 12-51, they are described *seriatim*. In Book 8, ll. 50-58, mention is made that fifteen of them should reign, and a description is there given of Hadrian. In Book 12, ll. 13-223, a much fuller account of the emperors from Augustus to Commodus is predicted, with a designation of Julius Caesar as dictator prior to Augustus.

³ Matt. 24, 2; Mark 13, 2; Luke 21, 6. These passages make no allusion to any destruction by fire.

⁴ Mark 13, 32. In Matt. 24, 36, it reads: "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only." Compare Sibyl. Orac. 1, 393-395, quoted in Appendix, Note J.

⁵ See *Judaism*, pp. 279-282.

⁶ Orosius, p. 489, Leyden edit. Compare *Judaism*, Ch. VI. note 34.

§ 2. *Political Personages.*

We find depicted in a monotheistic writing⁷ Agrippina, sister of one emperor, wife of another, and mother of another, who for a time ruled her husband and the Roman world.⁸ We also find in a Christian writer⁹ mention of Capito, the most prominent of patrician lawyers, the head of a legal school, who is contrasted with the lawgiver from Judea.

Had any accretion to the Gospels taken place in Italy, these and other political personages would scarcely have been overlooked.

§ 3. *Contest with Greek Culture.*

In Italy Greek Culture was regarded as nearly allied in many ways to monotheism and popular rights, and therefore antagonistic to patrician privileges.¹⁰ The belief in an incorporeal God, common among Jews and Christians, is treated by Cicero as a not uncommon opinion among Greeks.¹¹ Jewish and Christian views on morality were largely held by Greeks in the lands where monotheism had spread, and when Greeks from these lands came into Italy they brought their views with them.

⁷ See Sibylline Oracles, 3, 75-80, cited in *Judaism*, pp. 139-140.

⁸ Agrippina, when first she became a mother, consulted her brother Caligula touching a name for her son. He jocosely suggested the name of their half-witted uncle Claudius, to which of course she showed becoming repugnance. In later life she, for the sake of power, married this weak-minded uncle. She has been more permanently known as the mother of Nero. Her father and mother had each of them headed a rebellion against Tiberius. See *Judaism*, pp. 186, 523.

⁹ Clement of Alexandria quotes Isaiah 2, 3: "Out of Zion shall go forth a law. . . . This my upright law chants . . . not the law of Capito . . . but the eternal law of the new harmony named from God." — *Protrep.* § 2; *Opp.* p. 3, ll. 15-22, edit. Potter.

¹⁰ See *Judaism*, pp. 11-14, 367-371, 382-386.

¹¹ "Deum . . . ut Græci dicunt, ἀσώματον." — Cicero, *de Nat. Deorum*, 1, (12), 30. The passage is a criticism on Plato, but treats other Greeks as using this phraseology.

It is plain that these views clashed with what patricians deemed to be their interest. Some mention of this collision has been elsewhere made.¹²

When Augustus, surrounded by the aristocracy, was condemning one after another to death, his surroundings gave the leader of Greek Culture no chance of speaking to him. Mæcenas, unable to break through them, wrote on a card, "Up at length, Butcher!"¹³ and threw it to him. It is obvious from this and other circumstances that Mæcenas was the opponent of patricianism.

When Virgil wrote to please the leader of Greek Culture, he selected a peaceful topic, *Georgics* or agriculture,¹⁴ but when he wrote for Augustus and the aristocracy, his first words were, "I sing of arms";¹⁵ and he makes Æneas, the *practical-monotheist*,^{15a} superintend (*Æneid*, 5, 418, 461) a prize fight.

When Domitian spoke for the anti-patrician party, he gave point to his condemnation by quoting from the *Georgics* (2, 537): "Before an impious race feasted on slaughtered bullocks."¹⁶ When Augustus, under patrician influence, was striving to hinder Greek Culture, and wished to punish such Romans as wore a Greek dress, he quoted the *Æneid* (1, 282): *Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatum*, — "Romans, masters of the world, and a togaed nation."¹⁷

The efforts to drive Greek Culture from Rome took place always in the reign of patricianism.

¹² See *Judaism*, Ch. 1. § 4.

¹³ *Dio Cass.* 55, 7. Augustus thereupon quitted his judicial seat.

¹⁴ *Georgics*, 3, 41, 42. The article on Virgil in Smith's *Biographical Dictionary* treats (p. 1264) the *Georgics* as "the most finished work of Virgil," adding "that his fame rests in a great degree on this work." — Possibly any extra finish given to it may have been aided by suggestions of Mæcenas.

¹⁵ *Æneid*, 1, 1.

^{15a} See *Judaism*, pp. 417, 419.

¹⁶ *Suetonius*, *Domit.* 9. I have little doubt that Virgil was copying, as in many other instances, from a Jewish document, and that the word impious was an intended translation of ἀσεβής, a word which in Jewish Greek means unbeliever, or heathen. See *Judaism*, p. 468.

¹⁷ *Suetonius*, *August.* 40.

Had the Gospels grown by additions in Italy, there is at least a probability that the political conflict would in some way have become apparent. They make no allusion, however, to the writings, leaders, or arguments on either side.

CHAPTER X.

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT.

IF we now summarize the argument, we find it as follows:—

1. Christian authorship of the Gospels was contrary to the controversial wants of the early Christians, and so embarrassed them in their arguments with heathens that it is morally impossible they could have fictitiously assigned such authorship to them.

2. Of all the controversies in which Christians were engaged, whether between themselves or against Jews or heathens, not a trace appears in the Gospels.

3. Of the opinions prominently asserted and defended by the early Christians, or by particular schools among them, and which they rode as hobbies, not one appears in the Gospels. The argument is strong as regards any of their cherished opinions, and is intensely strong as regards their views of the heathen deities and Idolatry. The very object which early controversialists assigned to the Master's ministry, namely, the overthrow of these deities, is utterly ignored in the Gospels.

4. Of the customs to which the early Christians attached importance, or to which they were wedded, we find nothing in the Gospels, except the baptismal formula of the second century.

5. The peculiar designations for God used by Christians in heathen lands are absent from the Gospels.

6. So are the terms by which Christians were designated.

7. So are the terms which we have mentioned as coming into use among them. That the phrase Jesus Christ, or that the latter portion of it without the article, should not be found in the Gospels beyond what has been pointed out, is a remarkable fact.

8. We find various questions about public games, slavery, and other things, in which the Christians were deeply interested, but on which the Gospels attribute no remark to the Master.

9. The absence of allusion to Italian politics renders very improbable that any of the Gospels underwent accretion in Italy, and adds somewhat, at least, to the probability that they were not unhistorically fabricated or reworked outside of that country.

It is morally impossible if the Gospels had been fictitious, or were slowly growing under the hands of Christians, that they should have omitted all the topics of chief interest to those who wrote them.

If we now turn to the spurious records which Christians forged, we can to some extent test the truth of the preceding remarks. The test is imperfect, because these spurious records were not strictly original compositions, but (setting aside the Letter of Lentulus) simply an effort to reproduce facts concerning Jesus — especially the miracles — as recorded in the Gospels, basing them, however, on non-Christian evidence. Had these documents aimed to originate a life of the Master rather than to substantiate one which already existed, they would have had a much wider field for introducing the peculiarities of other countries or later times. In these records we find Jesus charged with destroying the sabbath,¹ and effecting cures by magic.² Articles of clothing, belonging to official position, are mentioned by their heathen names;³ the terms Lord's Day and Palm Sunday are introduced as if in use during the ministry of Jesus;⁴ we find the

¹ See Appendix, Note A, §§ 1, 7; Note B, § 3.

² See Note A, §§ 1, 6, 7; Note B, § 1.

³ See Note A, §§ 2, 4, 11.

⁴ See Note A, §§ 2, 13, 14.

Roman standards doing homage to Jesus;⁵ we find twelve persons in Judea charged with being proselytes⁶ and maintaining that they are born Jews, — a subject of dispute natural in localities outside of Judea, but unlikely to affect simultaneously twelve witnesses in Jerusalem; we find crucifixion treated as a Jewish form of punishment;⁷ the results of Christ's mission to the underworld are plainly stated;⁸ a description of his personal appearance is given at length;⁹ the appeal to the Old Testament as having foretold the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus admits but one interpretation;¹⁰ and the pseudo-predictions foretell the destruction of the temple with a sufficient description of those who were to destroy it.¹¹

There is yet an indirect argument to be drawn from a condition of things nineteen or twenty years after the ministry of Jesus.¹² Six different writers — heathen, Jewish, and Christian — concur in implying or referring to a wide-spread excitement at that date among Jews, the blame of which was thrown to some extent on Christians. The writers are Tacitus, Suetonius, the author of a Jewish Sibylline production, Paul, Luke, and Eusebius. There can hardly be a question that these writers, with the exception perhaps of Paul and Luke, wrote independently of each other. Their concurrence implies that at the date mentioned Christianity had taken considerable hold in Italy. The allusions, moreover, to the excitement and to some circumstances connected with it are, in the Acts of the Apostles and in Paul's letters to the Thessalonians, so incidental that they can only have been written by

⁵ See Note A, § 4; compare Phil. 2, 10.

⁶ See Note A, § 6.

⁷ See Note A, near close of § 7, col. 2, and Note B, § 3.

⁸ See Note A, § 13, Note B, § 3, and speech of Thaddeus in Note F. Compare Note I, footnote 5.

⁹ See Note D, and speech of Thaddeus in Note F.

¹⁰ See Note A, § 7, Note E, § 1, and compare Note I, footnote 5.

¹¹ See Note J, No. 1.

¹² See *Judaism*, Ch. VIII. § 5.

persons who lived through it, and whose readers were familiar with it. Writers of a later date would not have expected such allusions to be understood. These allusions establish the fact that the documents were written by persons then living, and each of these documents implies a then accepted history of Jesus, essentially such as we find in the Gospels.

CHAPTER XI.

DID PSEUDO-RECORDS REACT ON THE GOSPELS?

If the genuineness of the Gospels be assumed, the question may be asked, whether any of them have suffered by interpolation from the pseudo-records concerning Jesus. If these records were independent of the Gospels; if they were not, with one exception, as already said, a mere effort to reproduce facts mentioned in the Gospels, but substantiated by other evidence, — the question would be more important. Still the question may be asked whether anything whatever has been interpolated from them. The answer as regards all of them save the Acts of Pilate is, No. There is not the slightest ground to suspect such interpolation.

If we now examine the Acts of Pilate, there is no reason to surmise interpolation from it into the Gospels of Mark (as corrected from the manuscripts) or Luke or John. In the case of Matthew there are passages in the last two chapters which seem to require a different answer. His Gospel was written in what was then called Hebrew, — a language not extensively spoken, and whose book-markets, therefore, could scarcely pay for that rigid revision of manuscripts which existed in the Greek ones. Judea, moreover, even before the destruction of the temple and to a far greater extent afterwards, must have been more poorly supplied with trained copyists than

were the centres of Jewish thought and influence in other lands. The Jewish Christians became in Judea an obscure sect whose copyists cannot have exceeded others in that locality. The Acts of Pilate were originally written in this Hebrew, or Syro-Chaldaic, dialect,¹ and there are five, or perhaps six, instances in the last two chapters² of Matthew where the question may be fairly raised whether an addition has not been made from the Acts of Pilate. None of these passages pertain to the life or teaching of Jesus. They are here subjoined for the reader's study. The first two and the fifth contain nothing inherently improbable; yet they are more apposite to the Acts of Pilate, where the object is to "make out a case," than in the Gospels, which are elsewhere remarkably free from any such aim.

1. *Dream of Pilate's Wife.*

"Now at that feast, the governor was wont to release unto the people a prisoner, whom they would. And they had then a notable prisoner, called Barabbas. Therefore, when they were gathered together, Pilate said unto them, Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus, which is called Christ? (For he knew that for envy they had delivered him.)

[“When he was set down on the judgment-seat his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man: for I have suffered many things this day in a dream, because of him.]

“But the chief priests and elders persuaded the multitude that they should ask for Barabbas, and destroy Jesus.”³

¹ See extracts in Ch. I. note 4, from the headings of various manuscripts of said document.

² The Acts of Pilate begin with the measures for the arrest of Jesus during his last visit to Jerusalem, and are parallel only with the last two chapters.

³ **Matt. 27**, 15–18 [19], 20. Compare Appendix, Note A, § 5 at the beginning and § 7 near its close.

2. *Pilate washes his Hands.*

"And the governor said, Why! what evil hath he done? But they cried out the more, saying, Let him be crucified.

[“When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it. Then answered all the people, and said, His blood be on us and on our children.”]

“Then released he Barabbas unto them: and having scourged Jesus, gave him up to be crucified.”⁴

3. *The Dead of former Times arise.*

“And behold, the veil of the temple was rent in two from the top to the bottom: and the earth did quake and the rocks were rent: and the tombs were opened.

[“And many bodies of the holy which slept arose, and came out of the tombs AFTER his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many.”]

“Now, when the centurion, and they that were with him, watching Jesus, saw the earthquake, and those things that were done, they feared greatly, saying, Truly this was the Son of God.”⁵

4. *The Tomb sealed and guarded.*

“And when Joseph had taken the body, . . . and laid it in his own new tomb, . . . he rolled a great stone to the door, . . . and departed. And Mary Magdalene was there, and the other Mary, sitting opposite the tomb.

[“Now, the next day that followed the day of the preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate, saying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again. Command therefore that the tomb be made sure until the third day, lest his disciples come by night, and steal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen

⁴ **Matt. 27**, 23 [24, 25], 26. Compare Note A, § 10.

⁵ **Matt. 27**, 51 [52, 53], 54. See Note A, pp. 132, 137.

from the dead : so the last error shall be worse than the first. Pilate said unto them, You have a watch : go your way, make it as sure as you can: So they went and made the tomb sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch.]

"With the week's close, as it dawned on the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, to see the tomb. And behold [*a great earthquake took place for*] an angel of the Lord, descending from heaven, rolled away the stone, . . . and sat upon it.

["His appearance was as lightning, and his raiment white as snow, and from fear of him those watching quaked and became as dead.]"

But the angel addressing, said to the women, Do not fear, I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified."⁶

5. *The Soldiers bribed.*

"Then said Jesus unto them, Be not afraid : go tell my brethren, that they go into Galilee, and there they shall see me.

["Now, when they were going, behold, some of the watch came into the city, and showed unto the chief priests all that had taken place. And when they were assembled with the elders, and had taken counsel, they gave much money unto the soldiers, saying : Say, 'His disciples came by night, and stole him away while we slept.' And if this come to the governor's ears, we will persuade him, and secure you. So they took the money, and did as they were taught : and this saying is commonly reported among the Jews UNTIL THIS DAY.]"

"Then the eleven disciples went into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them."⁷

6. *Account of Judas.*

In the order of Matthew's Gospel the account of Judas precedes any of the five passages already cited. It is here placed last because, though it must be an interpolation, the evidence is not conclusive for its existence in the Acts of Pilate earlier than in the Gospel.

"When morning came, all the chief priests and elders

⁶ **Matt. 27**, 59-61 [62-66] ; **28**, 1, 2 [3, 4], 5. See Note A, pp. 137, 138.

⁷ **Matt. 28**, 10 [11-15], 16. See Note A, § 14.

of the people took counsel against Jesus to put him to death. And having bound him, they led him away, and delivered him to Pontius Pilate the governor.

["Then Judas, . . . when he saw that he was condemned,⁸ repented, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed innocent blood. . . . And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself. And the chief priests took the silver pieces, and said, It is not lawful to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood. And they took counsel, and bought with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in. Wherefore that field has been called, The field of blood, UNTO THIS DAY. Then was fulfilled what was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel valued; and gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord commanded me.]

"And Jesus stood before the governor: and the governor asked him, saying, Art thou the King of the Jews? And Jesus said unto him, I am."⁹

Besides the foregoing there is in the Epitome of events after the resurrection,¹⁰ subjoined to Mark's Gospel by a

⁸ Jesus had not at this date been condemned nor even tried. In the pseudo Acts of Pilate (§ 3) the wording is, "Judas, seeing how they LED JESUS BEFORE PILATE, . . . repenting," etc.

⁹ **Matt. 27, 1, 2** [3-10], 11. See Note A. § 3. In Acts **1, 18**, Judas is not said to have returned the money, but to have used it for buying a field. The statement there is part of a parenthesis (verses 18, 19) which Luke, speaking in his own person, has interjected into Peter's speech.

In the Acts of Pilate the account of Judas appears only in two cognate manuscripts which Thilo (*Cod. Apoc.* p. cxxix.) designates as *Cod. Venet.* and *Paris D.* This renders uncertain whether it existed in that document before Matthew's Gospel was translated into Greek.

¹⁰ On this Epitome see Appendix, Note O, footnote 2. It is here given with the sources from which it seems to have been compiled.

"And having risen early, on the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary of Magdala out of whom he had cast seven demons.

"She went and told those who had been with him, who were mourning and weeping. And they, when they heard that he was alive, and had been seen by her, did not believe.

"After this, he manifested himself

"Mary of Magdala cometh early" . . . to the tomb, . . . and beheld Jesus standing." — **John 20, 1, 14.**

"Mary of Magdala cometh, bringing word to the disciples that she had seen the Lord." — **John 20, 18.**

"Their words appeared . . . as idle, and they disbelieved them." — **Luke 24, 11.**

later hand, a passage (verse 16) which may have been copied from the Acts of Pilate. The subsequent passage also (verses 17, 18) appears in two or more manuscripts of the same pseudo Acts. Yet in this latter document it is less supported by manuscript authority than the preceding verse, and may, therefore, have been copied INTO said document, not FROM it.

in another form to two of them as they walked, going into the country. And they went and reported it to the rest ; and even them they did not believe.

"Afterward he manifested himself to the eleven themselves, as they were reclining at table, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they did not believe those who had seen him after he had risen.

"And he said to them, Going into all the world, proclaim the glad tidings to the whole creation. Whoever believes and is baptized will be saved, but the unbeliever will be condemned.

"And these signs will accompany believers : In my name they will cast out demons ; will speak languages new [to them] ; will take up serpents ; and if they drink any deadly thing, it will not hurt them ; they will lay their hands on the sick, and they will recover.

"So then, the Lord, after he had spoken to them, was taken up into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of God.

"And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word by the signs which followed it." — **Mark 16**, 9-20.

"Two of them were going the same day to a village called Emmaus . . . Jesus himself drew near, and went with them." — **Luke 24**, 13, 15.

"He himself stood in the midst of them." — **Luke 24**, 36. "Jesus came and stood in the midst, and said . . . Be not faithless, but believing." — **John 20**, 19, 27.

"Going into all the world proclaim (the glad tidings) to the whole creation that, whoever believes and is baptized will be saved, but the unbeliever will be condemned." — **Acts of Pilate**, § 15; Thilo, pp. 618, 622, Cp. **Matt. 28**, 19.

"You will receive power when the Holy Spirit hath come upon you ; and you will be my witnesses." — **Acts 1**, 8. Compare **Heb. 2**, 4, cited below.

[In Acts of Pilate, § 15, of *Paris A*, the adjacent passage is perhaps an interpolation.]

"When he had spoken . . . he was taken up." — **Acts 1**, 9. "Sit on my right hand." — **Heb. 1**, 13.

"God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Spirit." — **Heb. 2**, 4.

The Epitomist seems to have understood the words of Jesus (**Acts 1**, 8) as a promise of miraculous powers, rather than of a divine influence, which should fit them for their work, and of which any miraculous powers were merely an accompaniment.

The taking up of serpents may have been based upon Paul's experience (**Acts 28**, 3), with which, however, compare **Luke 10**, 19.

The citation from Acts of Pilate follows the text of *Paris A*, except the words in a parenthesis which are from *Paris D*.

CHAPTER XII.

TWO QUESTIONS FURTHER.

§ 1. *Correspondences of Matthew, Mark, and Luke.*

THE phraseology of Matthew, Mark, and Luke is in many cases very similar.¹ Two considerations will account for this. 1. As regards EVENTS recorded, any one narrating the same thing fifty or one hundred times falls inevitably into a more or less set form of words. The Apostles and their companions taught in each other's company, and the phraseology in which they taught, being used over and over again, acquired more or less of a fixed character. Matthew and Peter had doubtless taught in each other's hearing. The diction of Mark may be largely that of Peter. Luke at Antioch may have listened to more than one of the Apostles and their companions. 2. The TEACHING of Jesus, even if repeated by different listeners, would present a similarity of expression.

§ 2. *Style of John, the Evangelist.*

In the New Testament certain peculiarities of expression are found only in the language of John, and in that of others as quoted by him. This renders probable that the Evangelist, in recording when old the utterance of others, has at times done it, partly at least, in his own language, though scarcely when giving (18, 38) the answer of Pilate.

In the appended comparison the left-hand column gives the language of the Evangelist, the right gives that of others as reported by him. The latter is the reported language of Jesus, except where the name of another is subjoined.

¹ This question is somewhat fully treated by Mr. Norton in his *Genuineness*, Vol. 1, Appendix, Note D; abridged edit. Note B.

I. USES OF THE WORD "TRUTH."

TO DO THE TRUTH (Ποιᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν).

Evangelist John.

Epistle I.

1, 6. We . . . do not *the truth*.

Gospel.

3, 21. Whoever *does the truth*,

Jesus and Others.

TRUTH AS A DESIGNATION OF CHRISTIANITY, CHRISTIAN TEACHING, CHRISTIAN SPIRIT, RELIGIOUS DISPOSITION, ETC.

1, 8. *The truth* is not in us.2, 4. In this man *the truth* is not.21. Because you do not know *the truth*.21. No falsehood (ψεῦδος) is of *the truth*.

(Compare with the foregoing the expression "Who is a deceiver (ψεύστης) save he who denies Jesus to be the Christ?")

3, 19. By this we know that we are of *the truth*.4, 6. Whoever knows God hears us, he who is not of God does not hear us. By this we know the spirit of the (?) *truth* and the spirit of error.5, 6. The spirit is *the truth*.

Epistle II.

1. Whom I love in [the ?] *truth* (truly; or else as Paul would say, "in Christ").1. Who have known *the truth*.2. On account of *the truth*.4. Walking in [the] *truth*.

Epistle III.

1. Whom I love in [the ?] *truth*.3. Bearing testimony to thy *truth*.3. That you walk in [the] *truth*.4, 23. The true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in *truth*.24. They . . . must worship him in spirit and in *truth*.8, 32. You shall know *the truth*.32. *The truth* shall make you free.40. Who have spoken to you *the truth* which I heard from God.44. He doth not stand fast in *the truth* because *truth* is not in him.45. Because I speak *the truth* [teach true religion?]. I am the way and *the truth* and the life.14, 6. The spirit of the *truth*, which the world cannot receive.15, 26. When the paraclete shall come . . . the spirit of the *truth* . . . he will bear witness.16, 13. When the spirit of the (?) *truth* shall come, he will lead you into all the (?) *truth*.17, 17. Sanctify them through *thy truth*.17. Thy word is *truth*.19. That they may be sanctified by *truth*.18, 37. That I might bear witness to *the truth*.

Evangelist John.

Epistle III.

4. That I may hear of my children walking in [the] *truth*.

8. That they may be fellow-laborers for *the truth*.

12. Demetrius has testimony from all and from *the truth* itself.

Gospel.

1. 14. Full of favor and of *truth*.

17. Favor and the *truth* came by Jesus Christ.

Jesus and Others.

Gospel.

18, 37. Whoever is of *the truth* hears my voice.

38. What is [this] *truth*? (*or*, What do you mean by *truth*?) **Pilate**.

II. COMBINATIONS OF THE WORD "OF" (ἐκ).

OF THE TRUTH.

Epistle I.

2, 21. No lie is *of the truth*.

Gospel.

18, 37. Whoever is *of the truth* hears my voice.

3, 8. He that committeth sin is *of the devil*.

OF THE DEVIL.

8, 44. You are *of your father the devil*.

OF GOD.

3, 10. Whosoever doeth not righteousness is not *of God*.

4, 1. Try the spirits whether they are *of God*.

6. We are *of God* . . . whoever is not *of God*.

7, 17. He shall know of my teaching whether it be *of God*.

8, 47. Whoever is *of God* . . . you are not *of God*.

OF THE WORLD.

4, 5. They are *of the world* (τοῦ κόσμου).

5. Therefore speak they *of the world* (from a worldly point of view).

8, 23. You are *of this world* (τοῦ κόσμου τούτου), I am not *of this world* (τοῦ κόσμου τούτου).

3, 31. He that is *of the earth* . . . speaketh *of the earth*.

—**John the Baptist.**

III. WALK IN DARKNESS.

Evangelist John.

Jesus and Others.

Epistle I.

Gospel.

- 1, 6. If we . . . *walk in darkness.*
 2, 11. He that hateth his brother . . . *walketh in darkness.*
 8, 12. He who followeth me, will not *walk in darkness.*
 12, 35. He who *walks in darkness.*

IV. ABIDE IN (μένειν ἐν) GOD OR CHRIST.²

ESPECIALLY WITH RECIPROCAL EXPRESSION OF GOD OR CHRIST ABIDING IN MAN.

Epistle I.

Gospel.

- 2, 6. He that saith he *abideth in him.*
 24. You shall *abide in* the Son and in the Father.
 2, 27. You shall *abide in him.*
 23. *Abide in him.*
 3, 6. Whoso *abideth in him.*
 24. He that keepeth his commandments *abideth in him* and he in him.
 24. Hereby we know that he *abideth in us.*
 6, 36. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood *abideth in me* and I in him.
 14, 10. The Father who *abideth in me*, he doeth the works.
 15, 4. *Abide in me* and I in you.
 4. Neither can you bear fruit except you *abide in me.*
 5. He that *abideth in me* and I in him.

² The expression "abide in," sometimes translated "remain, continue, or dwell in," is not uncommon as the designation of physical residence in a place. Thus in the New Testament the following instances occur: Luke 8, 27, in the house; John 7, 9, in Galilee; 8, 35, in the house; 11, 6, in the place; Acts 9, 43, in Joppa; 20, 5, in Troas; 20, 15, in Trogy-lion; 27, 31, in the vessel; 2 Tim. 4, 20, in Corinth. The figurative use, moreover, is not entirely peculiar to John, for there are four passages in Paul—1 Cor. 7, 20 and 24, abide in the things which thou hast learned—which are analogous to some, though not to all of the above expressions. The frequency, however, and some forms of the figurative use, are peculiar to John. And in his Gospel alone do we find it in the reported language of the Savior. In the other three there is but one instance of its use by the Savior, and that in a physical sense: Luke 10, 5, "in the same house remain (abide)."

Evangelist John.

Epistle I.

- 4, 12. If we love one another, God *abideth* in us.
 13. We *abide* in him and he in us.
 15. God *abides* in him and he in God.
 16. He *abides* in God and God in him.

Jesus and Others.

Gospel.

- 15, 6. If any man do not *abide* in me,
 7. If you *abide* in me and my sayings *abide* in you.

V. OTHER USES OF "ABIDE IN."

Epistle I.

- 2, 10. He . . . *abideth* in the light.
 14. The word of God *abideth* in you.
 24. Let that *abide* in you which you have heard from the beginning.
 24. If that which you have heard from the beginning *abide* in you.
 27. The anointing . . . *abideth* in you.
 3, 9. His seed (God's) *abideth* in him.
 14. *Abides* in death.
 15. No murderer hath *eternal life* *abiding* in him.
 17. How *abideth* the love of God in him?
 4, 16. Whosoever *abideth* in love.

Epistle II.

2. The truth that *abides* in us.
 9. Whosoever *abideth* not in the teaching of Christ.
 9. Whosoever *abideth* in the teaching of Christ.

Gospel.

- 5, 38. Have not his word *abiding* in you.
 8, 31. If you *abide* in my word,
 12, 46. That whosoever believeth on me should not *abide* in darkness,
 15, 4. As the branch cannot bear fruit except it *abide* in the vine.
 9. *Abide* in my love.
 10. You shall *abide* in my love.
 10. I . . . *abide* in his love.
 11. That my joy might *abide* in you.

VI. TO KNOW GOD, TO KNOW CHRIST.

Evangelist John.

Epistle I.

- 2, 3. Hereby do we know that we *know him*.
4. He that saith, I *know him*.
12. Fathers, because you have *known him*.
13. Because you have *known the Father*.
14. Because you have *known him*.
- 4, 6. He that *knoweth God*.
7. Every one that loveth . . . *knoweth God*.
8. He that loveth not, *knoweth not God*.
- 5, 20. That we may *know him* that is true.

Jesus and Others.

Gospel.

- 8, 55. You have not *known him*, but I *know him*, and if I should say I *know him* not, etc.
- 10, 15. As the Father *knoweth me*, even so *know I the Father*.
- 4, 7. Had you *known me*, you would have *known my Father*.
9. Hast thou not *known me*?
- 16, 3. Because they have not *known the Father*.
- 17, 3. That they may *know thee* . . . and *Jesus Christ*.
25. The world has not *known thee*, but I have *known thee*.

VII. TO SEE GOD, TO SEE CHRIST.

Gospel.

- 1, 18. No one hath ever *seen God*.

Epistle I.

- 4, 20. *God*, whom he hath not *seen*.
- 3, 6. Whosoever sinneth hath not *seen him* (Christ)
(i. e. hath not been conversant with his spirit).

Epistle III.

11. He that doeth evil hath not *seen God*.

Gospel.

- 6, 46. Not that any one has *seen the Father* except he who is from God; he has *seen the Father*.
- 14, 9. He who has *seen me* has *seen the Father*.

VIII. LAY DOWN LIFE (ψυχὴν τιθέναι).

Evangelist John.

Epistle I.

3, 16. He *laid down his life*.

Jesus and Others.

Gospel.

10, 11. The good shepherd *lays down his life*.17. Because I *lay down my life*.18. I *lay it* (my life) *down* . . . I have authority to *lay it down*.15, 13. That any one should *lay down his life*.

IX. COMBINATIONS OF "HAVE."

TO HAVE LIFE, OR ETERNAL LIFE.

Epistle I.

3, 15. No murderer *hath eternal life* abiding in him.5, 12. He that *hath* the Son *hath life*.12. He that *hath* not the Son *hath* not *life*.13. That you may know that you *have eternal life*.

Gospel.

3, 15. Should not perish, but *have eternal life*.16. Should not perish, but *have eternal life*.35. He that believeth on the Son *hath eternal life*.

— John the Baptist.

5, 24. He that heareth my word . . . *hath eternal life*.39. In them you think you *have eternal life*.40. That you might *have life*.6, 40. That every one who seeth the Son . . . may *have eternal life*.47. He that believeth on me *hath eternal life*.54. Whoso eateth my flesh . . . *hath eternal life*.10, 10. I am come that they might *have life*.

TO HAVE SIN.

Evangelist John.

Epistle I.

1, 8. If we say that we *have* no *sin*.

Jesus and Others.

Gospel.

9, 41. You would *have* no *sin*.5, 22. They *had* not *had* *sin*.24. They *had* not *had* *sin*.19, 11. He that delivered me unto thee *hath* the greater *sin*.

TO HAVE THE FATHER, TO HAVE GOD, TO HAVE THE SON, ETC.

Epistle I.

5, 12. He that *hath* the *Son*, etc.12. He that *hath* not the *Son* of *God*.

Epistle II.

9. Whosoever transgresseth . . . *hath* not *God*.9. He that abideth in the doctrine . . . *hath* both the *Father* and the *Son*.

X. OVERCOME (νικάω) THE WORLD, THE WICKED ONE.

Epistle I.

5, 4. Whatsoever is born of *God* *overcometh* the *world*.5. Who is he that *overcometh* the *world*?2, 13. You have *overcome* the *wicked* one.14. You have *overcome* the *wicked* one.4, 4. You . . . have *overcome* them; because greater is he that is in you than he that is in the world.

Gospel.

16, 33. I have *overcome* the *world*.

XI. LIGHT (φῶς).

AS A DESIGNATION OF CHRIST, CHRISTIANITY, OR OF ANY MANIFESTATION OF GOD, ETC.

Evangelist John.

Epistle I.

- 1, 5. God is *light*, and in him is no darkness at all.
- 2, 8. The darkness is past; and the true *light* now shineth.
9. He that saith he is in the *light*, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now.
10. He that loveth his brother abideth in the *light*.

Gospel.

- 1, 4. The life was the *light* of men.
5. And the *light* shineth in darkness.
7. To bear witness of the *light*.
8. He was not that *light*, but was sent to bear witness of that *light*.
9. That was the true *light*, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

Jesus and Others.

Gospel.

- 3, 19. *Light* is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than *light*.
20. For every one that doeth evil hateth the *light*, neither cometh to the *light*.
21. But he that doeth truth cometh to the *light*.
- 8, 12. I am the *light* of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the *light* of life.
- 9, 5. I am the *light* of the world.
- 11, 9. If any man walk in the day . . . he seeth the *light* of this world.
10. But if a man walk in the night he stumbleth, because there is no *light* in him.
- 12, 35. Yet a little while is the *light* with you. Walk while you have the *light*.
36. While you have *light*, believe in the *light*, that you may be the children of *light*.
46. I am come a *light* into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness.

XII. AFFIRMATION AND NEGATION.

Evangelist John.

Epistle I.

- 1, 5. God is light and in him is no darkness at all.
6. We lie and do not the truth.
8. We deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.
- 2, 4. He . . . is a liar, and the truth is not in him.
10. He . . . abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him.
27. The same anointing . . . is truth and is no lie.
28. We may have confidence and not be ashamed.
- 1, 3. All things came into being through it, and without it not one thing came into being.
20. He confessed and denied not.

Gospel.

Gospel.

Jesus and Others.

- 3, 20. Every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light.
- 5, 24. He . . . hath eternal life, and shall not come into condemnation.
- 7, 18. The same is true, and no unrighteousness is in him.
- 16, 29. Now speaketh thou plainly and speakest no proverb. — **Disciples.**
30. Now are we sure that thou knowest all things and needest not that any man should ask thee. — **Disciples.**

XIII. ANTITHESES: NOT, BUT (ὅν, ἀλλά).

Epistle I.

- 2, 2. *Not* for ours only, *but* also, etc.
7. I write *not* a new commandment . . . *but* an old one.
21. I have *not* written unto you because ye know not the truth, *but* because ye know it.
- 3, 18. Let us *not* love in word, neither in tongue, *but* in deed and in truth.
- 4, 1. Believe *not* every spirit, *but* try the spirits.
10. *Not* that we loved God, *but* that he loved us.

Gospel.

- 3, 17. God sent *not* his son into the world to condemn the world, *but* that, etc.
28. That I said I am *not* the Christ, *but* that I am sent before him. — **John the Baptist.**
- 4, 14. Whosoever drinks of the water that I shall give him, shall *not* thirst forever, *but*, etc.
- 5, 22. The father judgeth *no* man, *but* hath committed, etc.
30. I seek *not* mine own will, *but*, etc.

Evangelist John.

Epistle I.

4, 18. There is *not* fear in love, *but* perfect love casteth out fear.

5, 6. *Not* by water only, *but* by water and blood.

18. Whosoever is born of God sinneth *not*, *but* he that is begotten of God keepeth himself.

Gospel.

1, 8. He was *not* that light, *but* was sent to bear witness of that light.

Jesus and Others.

Gospel.

5, 34. I receive *not* testimony from man, *but*, etc.

6, 32. Moses gave you *not* that bread from heaven, *but*, etc.

38. *Not* to do mine own will, *but* the will of him that sent me.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

ACTS OF PILATE.

AMONG literary frauds by Christians in the first three centuries, the most important were two cognate documents called the "Acts of Pilate" and "Pilate's Report."¹ Differing authorships were assigned to the former of these, and it had various titles, besides the one here adopted.² It appears, also, to have been repeatedly remodelled, interpolated, and altered for the purpose of adapting it to various controversial wants. An elaborate translation of all these variations, though useful to a scholar, might prove distracting to an ordinary reader. To avoid such distraction and facilitate insight into the chief object of this forgery, the author has confined his translation of the document to two only of its forms,

¹ Justin Martyr twice mentions the former of these, and Tertullian once refers to the latter. "And that these things occurred you can learn from the Acts prepared under Pontius Pilate." — **Justin Martyr**, *Apol.* **1**, 35. "And that he [Jesus] did these things you can learn from the 'Acts' prepared under Pontius Pilate." — **Justin Martyr**, *Apol.* **1**, 48. "Pilate — himself already a Christian as regarded his own *conscientia*, private conviction — announced at that date to Tiberius Cæsar all those circumstances [which I have narrated] concerning Christ." — **Tertullian**, *Apol.* **1**, 21. Compare *Judaism*, p. 442.

It will be noticed that Justin uses the Latin title "Acts." This probably implies that Latin translations of the FORMER document were already in circulation. The LATTER document, even if forged in Greek, must have professed a Latin original.

According to Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.* **1**, 9, and **9**, 5 and 7, the Heathens, a little before the year 300, invented a counter-record concerning Jesus, which bore the same name. The latter document was circulated by official authority, and was taught to children in the schools. Its object, of course, was to misrepresent and ridicule Jesus.

² See Ch. I. note 4.

which he has also divided into sections and supplied with headings.

The manuscripts designated by Thilo as "Paris A" and "Paris D" are the ones from which, with exceptions to be duly pointed out, the following translation is made. The heading and prologue of the former have already been given.³ The heading of the latter is subjoined.⁴

The date when these "Acts" were likely to circulate most, and to undergo most alteration, was in the fourth and in the early part of the fifth centuries. Christians were then the dominant but not the sole party. This protected them from inconveniences to which, in earlier days, a use of this document might have subjected them. Subsequently to the fifth century the advocates of the Greek and Roman religions were scarcely so numerous as to claim any frequent appeal to Pilate's authority.

Those portions of the document which seemed most likely to have belonged to it as originally written are printed in larger, and the supposed additions in smaller type. This arrangement was made, however, several years ago, and if the

³ See Ch. I. note 4. Thilo (p. cxx.) gives as the literary designation of this manuscript "*Codex Paris. Catal. 770. olim Colbert. 2493. tum regius 2356.*" For the convenience of those who may wish to compare the translation with the original a table is here appended of the sections, with the pages of Thilo on which they will be found.

Preface, pp. 494-498.	§ 8, pp. 550-554.
§ 1, " 500-506.	9, " 556-564.
2, " 506-508.	10, " 566-574.
3, " 508-512.	11, " 574-588.
4, " 512-520.	12, " 590-594.
5, " 520-526.	13, " 594-604.
6, " 526-534.	14, " 604-616.
7, " 534-548.	15, " 616-626.

⁴ The title or heading of *Paris D* corresponds, except the three italicized words, with that of the *Codex Venetus* given in Ch. I. note 4. "Narrative concerning the estimable suffering of our Lord and our Savior Jesus Christ, and concerning his holy resurrection, written by a Jew named Eumens, which Nicodemus the Roman Toparch translated from the Hebrew language into the Romaic [that is, the common Greek] dialect."—Thilo, *Cod. Apoc.* p. cxxvi, compared with statement on p. cxxix, ll. 11, 12. A manuscript copy of *Paris D*, now printed, enabled the author to amend Thilo's text.

Thilo has given copious extracts from this manuscript on pp. 500, 504, 505, 507, 510, 511, 519, 535-541, 544, 545, 548, 549, 555, 556, 558, 559, 560, 563, 564, 568, 569, 571, 572, 574, 575, 581, 589, 590, 591, 595, 597, 606, 607, 609, 610, 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 626.

author had eyesight thoroughly to re-examine this division he might possibly alter it in some places. Words without manuscript authority are in brackets; those copied from other MSS. are in parentheses. Probable interpolations or duplicate readings are placed between dashes or in *Italics*.

PREFATORY STATEMENT.

PARIS A.

In the FIFTEENTH year of the rule of Tiberius, — Cæsar and king of the Romans — and of Herod, king of Galilee — in the nineteenth year of his reign — on the eighth [day] before the Calends of April,⁵ which is the twenty-fifth of March, in the consulship of Rufus and Rubellio, in the fourth year of the two hundred and second Olympiad, under Caiaphas, high-priest of the Jews; Nicodemus prepared a narrative, and delivered it to the chief priests and other Jews, of⁶ . . . and as many things

PARIS D.

Four hundred years [literally, times] having elapsed after the kingdom of the Hebrews came to an end; the Hebrews being tributary under Roman rule, the king of the Romans appointing them a king; finally while Tiberius Cæsar swayed Roman affairs, in the EIGHTEENTH year of his reign, he having appointed as king, in Judea, Herod — son of that Herod who formerly killed the children in Bethlehem — and having Pilate as governor in Jerusalem,⁷ Annas and Caiaphas having the high-priesthood in Jerusalem: —

Nicodemus,⁸ Roman Toparch,

⁵ Thilo has here substituted the reading of *Monac. A.* instead of "April 8th," an evident corruption of text in *Paris A.* As Thilo's work is readily accessible his slighter emendations will not hereafter be mentioned. The previously mentioned fifteenth year of Tiberius was, according to Luke (3, 1), that in which John commenced preaching, but Tertullian (following the Acts of Pilate?) puts the crucifixion of Jesus (*adv. Judæos*, 8) in this fifteenth year and the beginning of his ministry (*adv. Marc.* 1, 15) in the twelfth year of Tiberius. Marcion's view (*adv. Marc.* 1, 19) accords with Luke.

⁶ There is here an obvious omission in the text. We must supply either "the things done to Jesus" or "the death and suffering" or some nearly equivalent expression.

⁷ These dates must be a later addition, probably as late as the fourth or fifth century.

⁸ The introduction, into the heading, of Nicodemus, a Roman Toparch, took place doubtless after the Jewish rebellion under Hadrian. It and some other peculiarities of this manuscript were caused by the wish to substitute, as far as possible, Heathen for Jewish testimony. The name of Nicodemus may already have been too closely linked with the document to admit of discarding it. *Ἰουδαίων* in the same sentence must be an error for *Ἰουδαίων*. The connection implies this and so does the introductory statement in footnote 4.

PARIS A.

as occurred after the crucifixion and suffering of our Lord. And Nicodemus composed [it] in the Hebrew language.⁹

PARIS D.

summoning a Jew named Ennæa [or Ennæus], requested him to write what had been done in Jerusalem concerning Christ in the time of Annas and Caiaphas. Which when the Jew had done and delivered it to Nicodemus, he [Nicodemus] translated these things from the Hebrew manuscript into the Romaic dialect. The contents of the narrative are as follows : —

§ 1. *Character of Charges against Jesus.*

PARIS A.

(The chief-priests and scribes having plotted together)¹⁰ Annas and Caiaphas and Numes and Dothaë, [*Dathan ?*] Gamaliel, Judas, Levi, Nephthalim, Jaeirus and the other Jews, came to Pilate against Jesus, accusing him of many misdeeds, saying :

We know this man — him — to be the son of Joseph the carpenter, born of Mary, and [yet] he states himself to be Son of God and a king. And not only this, but he profanes the sabbaths, and wishes to destroy the law of our fathers. For we have a law not to heal any one on the sabbath ; but this man, by wrong deeds on the sabbath, heals the lame and

PARIS D.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, having performed many great and extraordinary miracles in Judea, and been envied for it by the Hebrews, during the governorship of Pilate over Jerusalem and the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, there came from the Jews to these same high-priests Judas, Levi, Nephthalim, Alexander, Syrus and many others accusing Christ, whom also the before-mentioned high-priests sent to tell these things likewise to Pilate the governor.

These departing said to him, that a man walks about in this city whose father is called Joseph, and his mother is Mary, but he calls himself a king and Son of God ; and though a Jew, he subverts the Scriptures, and destroys the sabbaths.

Pilate, the governor, questioned, therefore, to learn from them : How does he destroy the

⁹ The Greek versions in *Paris A* and *D* differ. *A* often uses forms of λέγειν where *D* uses those of εἰπεῖν ; *D* inserts ἡν or ὅτι where *A* does not. Effort has been made, even at cost of good English, to reproduce such peculiarities. *A* repeatedly has "Jews" where *D* has "Hebrews."

¹⁰ *Monac. A.*

PARIS A.

paralytics and blind and the bowed [by infirmity] and the lepers and the possessed of de-

mons, and he is a sorcerer, and casts out demons through Beelzebub, and all things are subject to him.

Pilate says to them : This casting out of demons is not through an unclean spirit, but through [some] god. *Æsculapius*.¹¹

The Jews say to Pilate : We beseech your highness that he may be placed before your tribunal and be inquired into.

Pilate addressing them says : Inform me how I, who am but a governor, can [judicially] examine a king.

They say to him : We do not call him a king, but he calls himself so.

PARIS D.

sabbaths? And they answered saying *that*, He heals the sick on the sabbath. Pilate answered : If he makes the sick well, he does nothing evil.

They say to him : If he wrought the cures properly, the evil would be small, but he performs them by the use of magic and by companionship with demons.

Pilate says : Healing a sick person is not a diabolic work, but a favor from [some] god.

The Hebrews said : We beseech your highness to summon him that you may ascertain for yourself what we allege.

§ 2. *Respect of Pilate and his Attendant for Jesus.*

Pilate, addressing his personal messenger,¹² says : Let Jesus be brought in a becoming manner.

The personal messenger going out, and recognizing him, did him homage, and took the cataploma¹⁵ of [in ?] his hand and spread it upon the ground, and says to Jesus : Lord, walk thus [i. e. on this] and enter ; the governor calls thee.

Thereupon Pilate the governor, taking off his *mundicium*—that is, his *fascial*,¹³—gave it to one of his servants named Rachaab—that is, to his personal messenger,¹⁴—saying to him, Go and show this to Jesus and say to him : Pilate the governor calls thee to come to him.

Therefore the servant departed and finding Jesus

¹¹ *Æsculapius* may have been a marginal explanation of, or substitute for, the preceding expression.

¹² Literally, *cursor*, runner.

¹³ Some copyist who had two manuscripts may have understood two different readings as being alike in meaning.

¹⁴ The remark in the preceding note applies here also.

¹⁵ *Cataploma*, *mandicium* and *fascial*, *κατάπλωμα*, *μανδήλιον*, *φακεῶλιον* or *φακιῶλιον*, are nowhere accurately described. I suspect *cataploma* to be a cloak.

PARIS A.

The Jews, perceiving what the attendant did, complained to Pilate, saying : Why did you not summon him to come by the common crier instead of by your personal messenger? (*Monac. A.* for the personal messenger, as soon as he saw him, did him homage, and spread on the ground his *fuscia*, and has made him to walk as a king.)

PARIS D.

on Palm-Sunday, sitting on an ass. And the Hebrews strewed their garments in the way, and the ass walked on the garments. And the servant, seeing such honor towards Jesus, himself also became
 . . . ¹⁶

summoned him, spreading upon the ground the *mandelium* of Pilate, urging him also to walk upon it.

Which the Hebrews seeing, and being greatly chagrined, came to Pilate,¹⁷ the governor, complaining of him. Why had he deemed Jesus worthy of such honor?

§ 3. *Regard of Common People for Jesus.*

Pilate, calling the messenger, says to him : Why have you done this?

The messenger says to him : Lord, governor, when you sent me in Jerusalem to Alexander, I saw him sitting on an ass, and the Hebrews¹⁸ holding branches in their hands were crying, Hosanna, Blessed is he that cometh. And others strewed their garments, saying, Save [Thou] in the highest. Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

And he inquiring of the servant, who had been sent, why he had done this, the servant answered, saying : When you sent me to the Jew Alexander, I met Jesus entering the gate of the city, sitting on an ass, and I saw the Hebrews, that they spread their garments in the way, and the ass walked upon the garments; and others cut branches and went out to meet him, and cried, Hosanna in the highest. Blessed be he who comes in the name of the Lord. It became me therefore to do the same, and I did the same.

¹⁶ An obvious interpolation, from which something has been omitted in the manuscript. Thilo (p. 507) has erroneously substituted Lord's Day of the Hebrews for *Palm Sunday*.

¹⁷ An awkwardness in the Greek renders probable, in this and other instances on pp. 108, 109, that *Pilate* was copied from one manuscript and *governor* from another.

¹⁸ Literally, the children of the Hebrews.

PARIS A.

The Jews say to the attendant messenger: The Hebrews were crying out in Hebrew. How then did you who are a Gentile [literally, a Greek] understand the Hebrew?

The messenger says to them: I asked a certain one of the Hebrews, What is it which they cry in Hebrew? and he interpreted it for me.

Pilate says to them: What were they crying in Hebrew?

They say to him: Hosanna.

Pilate says to them: Hosanna — What is the translation of it?

[They say to him] Do save.

Pilate says to them: You yourselves testify to the words uttered by the children [of the Hebrews]. What wrong has the messenger done?

They were silent.

PARIS D.

The Jews, hearing these words, said to him: You being a Roman, how did you understand what was said by the Hebrews?

The servant answered and said: I asked one of the Hebrews, and he told me these things.

Pilate said: And what does Hosanna mean?

The Jews said: Save us, Lord.

Pilate answered: Since you confess that your people [literally, your children], unversed in evil spoke thus, how can you now bring an accusation and allege what you do against Jesus?

The Jews were silent and had nothing to reply.¹⁹

¹⁹ Here follow several interpolations, of which the first was not im-
probably added soon after the Jewish war under Hadrian. It is as fol-
lows: "About that time Jesus called to him whom he wished and they
went to him. And he appointed twelve, that they should be with him,
and that he might send them to announce his name in the whole world.
He commenced also to establish a NEW LAW for the abolition of sab-
baths, the Jewish cessation [from occupation] which they had under the
old covenant from God and Moses. If any Jew died on the sabbath they
did not bury him before the following day. But Jesus, wishing to com-
plete [in the sense also, of "bring to a conclusion"] that Law, gave
strength to the paralytic man on the sabbath. He healed on the sabbath
the daughter of the chief of the Synagogue [*and*?] her who had an issue
of blood. The blind, the leper, and demoniac, and dead, he healed them
on the sabbath. On the sabbath he awoke Lazarus [who had been dead]
four days. And on this account the Jews sought to kill him, because
thereafter the whole people followed him: — then the Jews were moved
to envy, because he awoke him who had been putrid four days."

On the views here expressed concerning the sabbath, compare *Judaism*,
Ch. XI. § 1. The word translated *to complete* is often rendered *to fulfil*.

The foregoing is followed by a copious extract from John's Gospel,
having the twofold commencement, "And as recorded by (the *Evangelist*

PARIS D.

Then they bring Jesus to Pilate the governor, and it was the day of preparation, early.

And Judas seeing — that also — how they led Jesus before Pilate, was [self-] condemned in trembling and fear because of his base plotting against him, and in his despair repenting, wishing to return the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and to the elders of the Jews: and these evil-doers and accusers knowing him — what Judas wished to do, — uttered themselves against him in unison. At the same time also the people accused and insulted him alone, and put on him the blame; *of the crucifixion. And they all cried out against him and said: Traitor, law-breaker, faithless one, thankless one, murderer of his teacher whose feet had been washed by that [teacher], carrier of his purse, and giving out of it as much as he wished, and hiding away as much as he wished.*

at which things he being worried, and not able to bear the reproaches and what he heard, and being to such a degree condemned and insulted by all, going into the temple and finding the chief priests and scribes and Pharisees, he said, I know truly that I have done wrong, take then the silver pieces which you have given me for betraying Jesus to you that he might be murdered; for I sinned in betraying innocent blood. But they said, What is that to us, see you to that. And the Jews, not wishing to receive the silver pieces, casting these among them he fled, . . . ²⁰ and ἐκρεμάσθη hung himself and thus ἀπῆλθαι strangled himself. But the chief priests, taking the silver pieces, said, It is not lawful to cast them into the treasury because it is the price of blood; and taking counsel, they bought with them the field of the potter as a burial-place for strangers; wherefore that field is called the field of blood to THIS DAY. Then was fulfilled what was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him who was valued, whom [they] of the sons of Israel valued; and THEY gave them for the potter's field as the Lord commanded ME.^{20a}

John the *Written Books*." The *written books* might be an authority with a heathen, if he supposed them written by heathens. The *Evangelist* would not, and his name was probably added after heathenism had died out. The connection of this extract is in one or two places broken by still later interpolations. The extract itself was not likely to be added before the fourth century.

²⁰ The passage omitted after the word *fled* is a very late interpolation, in which a dead cock is made to flap its wings and crow. It may have been an effort to reproduce, though in a very extravagant form, the incident which (Luke 22, 60-62) awakened repentance in Peter.

^{20a} The duplicate statements and to some extent the imperfections of phraseology in the account of Judas have been retained in the translation, since they are not without bearing on the question whether the account originally belonged to, or was afterwards interpolated into, these Acts. Other portions, however, of *Paris D* are disfigured by carelessness in copying.

The passage attributed to Jeremiah is from Zech. 11, 12, 13.

§ 4. *Homage of the Standards to Jesus.*²¹

PARIS A.

The governor says to his personal messenger: Go out and bring him in, in such manner as you wish.

The messenger, going out, conducted himself as before, and says to him, Master, the governor calls thee.

And as Jesus entered, and the standard-bearers [stood by] holding their standards, the figure-heads of the standards bowed and did homage to Jesus.

And the Jews, seeing the behavior of the standards, how they bowed and did homage to Jesus, cried out more vociferously against the standard-bearers.

Pilate says to the Jews: Are you not filled with wonder that the figure-heads of the standards bowed and did homage to Jesus?

The Jews say to Pilate: We know that the standard-bearers bowed (*Monac. A.*, the figure-heads) and did him homage.

The governor, addressing the standard-bearers, says to them: Why did you do this?

They say to Pilate: We are Greeks [i. e. Gentiles], and how could we do him homage? For as we held the figure-heads, these bowed of themselves and did homage.

Pilate says to the rulers of the synagogue, and the elders of the

PARIS D.

And as Jesus came to Pilate the governor, Pilate's soldiers

did him homage. Others also stood in Pilate's presence holding standards, and the standards bowed and did homage to Jesus.

While Pilate was wondering at the occurrence, the Jews said to him: Lord, the standards did not do homage to Jesus, but the soldiers who were holding them carelessly.

Pilate says to the chief of the synagogue: Select twelve power-

²¹ Christian controversialists, in their contest with heathenism, alleged with an eagerness, almost amounting to mania, the subjection to their Master's power of demons (see *Underworld Mission*, p. 78; 3d edit., pp. 74, 75) and of everything idolatrous. The figure-heads of the Roman standards were regarded by the Jews, and no doubt by many Christians, as idol emblems. This section is a fair specimen of the Master's life, as it would have been, if devised by Christians in the second century.

PARIS A.

Jewish people : Select powerful men, and let them hold the standards, and let us see whether they will bow themselves.^{21a}

The elders of the Jews, taking twelve strong and powerful men, made them six by six hold the [two] standards, and they were stationed before the tribunal of the governor.

And Pilate says to his attendant messenger : Put him — *Jesus* — out of the Prætorium, and bring him in again in such manner as you wish.

And *Jesus* having gone out of the Prætorium, Pilate, addressing those who held the figure-heads, says to them : I swear by Cæsar's salvation that if the standards bow when *Jesus* returns I will cut off your heads. And sitting down, the governor commanded that *Jesus* should enter the second time. And the attendant messenger conducted himself as before, and besought *Jesus* earnestly to tread upon his *fascia*. And he walked upon it and entered. And as he entered, the standards again bowed and did homage to *Jesus*.

And Pilate, being astounded when he saw it, sought to arise from his tribunal.

PARIS D.

ful men, who can hold them firmly ; and when this had been

done, Pilate commanded the servant to put *Jesus* out and to bring him in again. And when

he came in, again the standards bowed and did him homage.

Pilate therefore wondered greatly. But the Jews said : He is a magician, and thereby accomplishes these things.

§ 5. *Message from Pilate's Wife.*

And while he was yet intending to arise, his wife sent to him, saying : Have nothing to do with this just man, for I suffered many things on his account during the night.

Pilate, addressing the Jews, says to them : You know that my wife is a Monotheist, — and is disposed to Judaize with you.

^{21a} For *ἐταυροῖς* read *ἐταυροδς*.

PARIS A.

They say to him, Yes, we know it. Pilate says to them, Lo, my wife Procla sent, saying: Have nothing to do with this just man, for I suffered many things on his account during the night.

The Jews, answering, say to Pilate: Did we not tell thee that he is a sorcerer, and that through Beelzebub, the Prince of the demons, all things are subject to him? Lo: he sent a dream-messenger to your wife.

Pilate addressing Jesus, says to him: Such persons testify against you; (*Paris C.*, Do you not hear what these testify against you?) Do you say nothing? [*Cp. § 1.*]

Jesus answered: Except they had authority [for their statements?] they said nothing. Every one has authority over his own mouth to speak good and evil. They shall see.

PARIS D.

Pilate says to Jesus: You hear what these testify against you, and do you not answer? [*Cp. § 1.*]

Jesus answered and said: Every man has authority to speak what he wishes, whether his wish be good or evil, they also, therefore, having authority to speak what they wish.

§ 6. *Answer to Imputation on the Mother of Jesus.*²²

The elders of the Jewish People, answering, say to Jesus: What shall we see? First, That you were born of fornication. Second, That your birth in Bethlehem was [the cause of] destruction to young children. Third, That your father Joseph and your mother Mary fled into Egypt, because they had no consolation (confidence?^{22a}) among The People.

Certain discreet persons from

The Jews said to him: What have we to say concerning you? First, that you were sinfully born. Secondly, that on your account when you were born, 44,000 children were murdered. Third, that your father and mother fled into Egypt because they had not courage towards [meeting] "The People."

Hereupon the Jews — the twelve Monotheist men who were present there²³ — answered and said: We

²² Most of this section is doubtless an interpolation. What follows it is intimately connected, in *Paris D.*, with § 4. The most probable date of the interpolation is in the latter half of the second century, when, as we can infer from the charges of Celsus, Mary's character was a subject of discussion. This discussion may have been prompted by the stress which Christians, subsequently to Hadrian's time (*Justin, Apol. 1, 21, 33, Dial. 43, 66, 75, 84, 100; Opp. 1, 180 E, 206 D E A, 2, 140 D E, 222 A, 254 A, 286 A B, 336 A*) laid on the miraculous birth of Jesus as a fulfilment of prophecy.

^{22a} *Monac A.* and *B.*

²³ On the substitution of (Gentile) Monotheists for Jews, see note 26.

PARIS A.

among the Jewish bystanders, say : We do not allege him born of fornication, but [on the contrary] we know that Joseph was betrothed to Mary and he [Jesus] is not born of fornication.

Pilate says to the Jews, who affirmed him to be [born] of fornication : This statement of yours is not true, since the betrothing took place, as these, your fellow-countrymen, affirm.

Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate : The multitude vociferates, and [yet] you do not believe that he is born of fornication. These are Proselytes and his disciples.

Pilate, addressing Annas and Caiaphas, says to them : And what is a Proselyte ?

They say to him : They were born children of Greeks [i. e. Gentiles] and have now become Jews.

Those who maintained that he was not born of fornication — *Lazarus, Asterius, Antonius, James, Isaiah, Annas, Samuel, Isaac, Phineas, Crippius, Agrippa, Judas* — say : We have not become Proselytes, but are children of the Jews,²⁴ and speak the truth, for we were present at the betrothal of Joseph and Mary.

And Pilate, addressing these — *the twelve men* — who maintained that he was not born of fornication, says to them : I adjure you by Cæsar's salvation : Is it the truth that he is not born of fornication ?

They say to Pilate : We have a law not to swear, because it is sinful. But let them swear that it is not as we have said, and we are liable to death.

Pilate says to Annas and Caiaphas : Do you answer nothing to these things ?

PARIS D.

allege that his birth was not sinful, for we know that Joseph, according to betrothal, received his mother Mary, that he should have this [a husband's] charge of her.

Pilate said : Then you speak falsely, who allege that his birth is sinful.

²⁴ This and some other portions of *Paris A* may have been specially intended to secure a circulation among Jews, or among such as had more Jewish than Gentile leanings.

PARIS A.

Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate:

These — twelve — are believed that he was not born of fornication.

The whole multitude of us vociferate that he was born of fornication, and

is a sorcerer and [yet] calls himself Son of God and a king; and we are not believed.

PARIS D.

They again say to Pilate: The whole people testifies that he is a magician.²⁵

*The Monotheists*²⁶ the Jews answered and said: We were at the betrothal of his mother — and are Jews²⁷ — and

know his whole life; but that he is a magician we do not know.

Those who thus affirmed, were the following: — Monotheists — Lazarus, Astharius, Antonius, Jacob, Zaras, Samuel, Isaac, Phincas, Crispus, Dagrippus, Eumesse, and Judas.

Pilate therefore says to them: I wish you to swear by Cæsar's life whether the birth of this man is free from sin.

They answered and said: Our law ordains that we should swear to nothing, for an oath is a great sin. But by Cæsar's life we swear that his birth is free from sin. If we are falsifying, command our heads to be cut off.

When these had thus spoken, the accusing Jews answered to Pilate and said: Do you trust more to such — a dozen only — Jews than to the whole multitude, and to us who know him well [as a] magician and blasphemer who names himself Son of God?

²⁵ See § 1 and conclusion of § 4. The repetition may either be intended to support their own assertion by that of the people, or to restore the connection, which had been interrupted.

²⁶ *The Monotheists*, here and elsewhere, is probably a reading copied from some manuscript, wherein it had been substituted for Jews. The substitution was likely to take place during the imbitterment of heathens against Jews under Hadrian and afterwards. Compare *Judaism*, p. 463, note 4.

²⁷ An interpolation copied from some manuscript which was intended to circulate specially among Jews.

§ 7. *Pilate's Conviction touching Jesus.*

PARIS A.

Then Pilate commanded the whole multitude to go out except the —twelve— men who said that he was not born of fornication.

and he commanded Jesus to be taken aside; and Pilate [then] says to them: For what reason do they wish to kill him?

They say to him: They are actuated by party animosity because he heals on the sabbath.

Pilate says: Because of a good work, therefore, they wish to kill him.

They say: Yes.

Then Pilate, filled with anger, went out of the Prætorium, and says to them:

I call the sun to witness that I find no fault in this man.

The Jews answered and said to the governor: If this man were not an evil-doer, we³⁰ would not have delivered him to you.

Pilate said: Take him yourselves, and judge him according to your law.

The Jews said to Pilate: It is not permitted us [by our Roman masters] to put any one to death.

PARIS D.

Then Pilate commanded all to leave the Prætorium except only the before-mentioned *twelve*,²⁸ and when this had taken place Pilate says to them privately: According to appearances the rulers *it appears to me that the Jews* through envy and madness wish to murder *this man* him,²⁹ for they accuse him of but one thing, that he destroys the sabbaths. But he then does a good work, for he heals the sick. This is not a [charge which deserves] condemnation to death against the man.

[They] *the twelve* say to him: Yes, my Lord, that is the case.

Pilate therefore went out in anger and excitement, and says to Annas and Caiaphas, and to the people, *and said to the crowd who brought Jesus: what accusation do you bring against this man?*³¹ I call the sun to witness that I find no crime in this man.

The crowd answered and said: If he were not a *sorcerer and magician and blasphemer*³² and evil-doer, we would not have brought him and given him up to your greatness.

Pilate said: Examine him thoroughly yourselves, and, since you have a law, do as your law directs.

The Jews said: Our law does not permit us to put any man to death.

²⁸ The specific number *twelve* is in most or all cases probably an addition to the original document.

²⁹ The italicized and non-italicized passages are evidently from different texts.

³⁰ An emphasis on the *we*. We are no such lovers of Gentile rule as to give up our countrymen without cause.

³¹ Perhaps from a different text.

³² The previous narrative charges Jesus with being a magician and evil-doer. The italicized terms may be from some amplified text.

PARIS A.

Pilate said to the Jews : Did God command that you should not, but that I should put to death?³³

And Pilate, entering the Prætorium again, accosted Jesus privately and said to him : Are you the king of the Jews ?

Jesus answered Pilate : Do you speak this of yourself, or did others say it to you concerning me ?

Pilate answered Jesus, and said to him : Am I a Jew ? Your nation and the chief priests gave you up to me. What have you done ?

Jesus answered : My kingdom is not of [or from] this world. For if my kingdom were of [from] this world, my servants would have contended that I should not have been delivered to the Jews. But as it is, my kingdom [or, jurisdiction] is not thence.

And Pilate said to him : Therefore you are a king ?

Jesus answered him : You say [it] that I am a king. To this end have I been born and have come, that every one who is of the truth should hear my voice.

Pilate says to him : What is [the] truth ?

And Pilate, leaving Jesus, went out of the Prætorium to the Jews, and says to them : I find no fault in him.

The Jews say to him : This man stated, I can destroy this temple, and in three days I will build it.

PARIS D.

Pilate says : If you do not wish to put to death, by how much rather do not I.

Then Pilate returned into the palace and accosted Jesus, and said to him : Tell me, are you the king of the Jews ?

Jesus answered him and said : Do you utter this, or did others — *Jews* — say this to you, that you should ask me ?

Pilate said : Am I a Hebrew ? I am not a Hebrew. Your people and the chief priests delivered you into my hands ; and tell me [therefore ?] whether you are king of the Jews.

Jesus answered : My kingdom is not in this world. For if my kingdom were in this world, my soldiers would not have disregarded my capture. My kingdom, however, is not in this world.

Pilate says : You are, however, a king ?

Jesus said : You have spoken it. For this purpose I was born, to bear testimony to the truth. And if any man is of the truth, he believes my teaching and does it.

Pilate says : What is truth ?

*Christ*³⁴ answered : *Truth is from the heavens.*

Pilate says : *Is there not truth upon earth ?*

Christ says : *I am the truth, and how is the truth judged on earth by those who have earthly authority ?*

Therefore Pilate, leaving *Christ* alone, went out and says to the Jews : I find no fault in this man.

The Jews answered : May we tell your greatness what he said ? He said, that : I can destroy the temple of God, and in three days rebuild it.

³³ This is omitted in *Monac. A.* Its addition resulted doubtless from a misapprehension of the preceding statement (John 18, 31) as referring to Jewish law instead of to Roman rule.

³⁴ This term *Christ* must have been a somewhat late interpolation. The original document used the name *Jesus*.

PARIS A.

Pilate says : What temple ?

The Jews say to him : The one which Solomon built during forty-six years, but this man says he can destroy and build it in three days.

Pilate again says to them : I am innocent of the blood of this just man. You shall see to it.

The Jews say : His blood be upon us and upon our children.

Pilate calling to him the elders and chief priests and Levites, said to them privately : Do not do thus, for you accuse him of nothing (*Paris B.*, deserving) death : for your accusation is of healing and of profaning sabbaths.

The elders of the people and the priests and Levites say to Pilate : If a man blaspheme Cæsar, does he deserve death, or not ?

Pilate says : He deserves death.

The Jews say : If any one blasphemes Cæsar, he deserves death. But this man blasphemes God.

Then the governor commanded (the Jews) ^{34a} to go out of the Prætorium, (and addressing) ^{34b} Jesus and says to him : What shall I do to you ?

Jesus says to Pilate : As has been commissioned [literally, given] you.

Pilate says : What commission has been given me ?

Jesus says : Moses and the prophets foretold concerning my death and resurrection.

The Jews, paying attention and hearing, say to Pilate : What further [need] have you to listen concerning this blasphemy ?

Pilate says to the Jews : If this remark is blasphemous, *with reference to blasphemy*,³⁵ take him you and lead him away to your synagogue, and judge him according to your law.

PARIS D.

Pilate says : And what temple did he speak of destroying ?

The Jews said : The temple of Solomon, which Solomon constructed in forty-six years.

Pilate says privately to the chief priests and scribes and Pharisees : I exhort you that you do no evil to this man. For if you shall do evil to this man, you will do injustice ; for it is not just that such a man should die who has conferred great benefits on many men.

They spoke to Pilate : My Lord, If he who dishonors Cæsar is worthy of death, how much rather this man, who dishonors God ?

Then Pilate ordained, and all went out. Then he says to Jesus : What do you wish that I shall do to you ?

Jesus says to Pilate : Do to me as is ordained.

Jesus answered,³⁵ Moses and the prophets wrote that I should be crucified and rise again.

The Hebrews, hearing these things, spoke to Pilate : Why do you seek to hear greater insult from him against God ?

Pilate says : This is not an insolent speech against God, since it is written in the prophetic books.

^{34a} *Monac. B.*

^{34b} *Paris B.*

³⁵ No preceding remark of Pilate appears in *Paris D.*

³⁶ Doubtless a duplicate reading copied into *Paris A.*

PARIS A.

The Jews say to Pilate : Our law contains, If a man sin against man he deserves to receive forty stripes less one ; but if against God, let him be stoned.

Pilate says to them : Take him yourselves and punish him in such way as you wish.

The Jews say : We wish that he may be crucified.

Pilate says : He does not deserve to be crucified.

Pilate, looking about on the surrounding crowds of Jews, sees many weeping and says : It is not the wish of the whole multitude that he should die.

The elders of the Jews say : On this account the whole multitude of us came, that he may die.

Pilate says : Why that he may die ?

The Jews say : Because he pronounced himself Son of God and king.

PARIS D.

The Hebrews spoke : Our scripture says, If a man wrong a man, or insult him, he deserves to receive forty blows with a staff, but if he insults God [he deserves] to be stoned.

*Then came a message-bearer from Procle, Pilate's wife, to him. The message said, that : Take care not to agree that any evil shall befall Jesus, that excellent man, since during the night I saw frightful dreams on his account.*³⁷

Pilate gave [as his] defence to the Hebrews : See : If you maintain that the speech, which you allege, that Jesus uttered, is an insult against God, take him and judge him according to your law.

The Jews said to Pilate : We wish [permission] that we may crucify him.

Pilate turning to the people saw many weeping, and said : It seems to me [that] it is not the wish of the whole people, that this man should die.

The priests and scribes say : We brought the whole people on this account, that you may attain certainty that all wish his death.

Pilate says : But what evil has he done ?

The Hebrews spoke : He says he is a king and son of God.

§ 8. *Nicodemus testifies to the Miracles of Jesus.*

But a certain man³⁸ a Jew, Nicodemus, stood before Pilate and says : I beseech your excellency, command me to speak a few words.

Pilate says : Speak.

Nicodemus says : I spoke to

Thereupon a Jew—a *Monotheist*—named Nicodemus, standing in the midst, spoke to Pilate : I beseech your greatness, permit me to speak a few words to you.

Pilate said : Speak.

Nicodemus says : I spoke to

³⁷ This breaks the connection, and cannot belong with what immediately precedes and follows it. Compare the beginning of § 5.

³⁸ Substituted for Jew probably after the war under Hadrian in some MSS., thus occasioning a twofold reading.

PARIS A.

the elders and chief priests and Levites, and to the whole multitude of Jews in the synagogue : What seek you with this man ? This man performs many miracles and wonderful works, which no one [else ever] did or will do. Discharge him, and cherish no wishes of evil against him ; for if these miracles which he performs are from God, they will stand, but if from men, they will come to nothing.

Moses also, having been sent by God into Egypt, did many miracles, which God directed him (to do) ^{38a} before Pharaoh, king of Egypt. And there were men there in the service of Pharaoh — Jannes and Jambres — and they also performed not a few miracles such as Moses performed, and the Egyptians held them, Jannes and Jambres, as gods. But since the miracles which they performed were not from God, they were destroyed, both themselves and those who believed on them. And now discharge this man, for he is not deserving of death.

The Jews say to Nicodemus : You have become his disciple and argue in his behalf.

(Nicodemus says to them : Has not the governor [in your opinion] become his disciple, and does not he argue in his behalf ?) ³⁹

Did not Cæsar appoint him [with authority] to decide this question ?

But the Jews [meanwhile]

PARIS D.

the priests, and the Levites and the scribes and the people when I was present in the synagogue : What charge have you against this man ? This man does many miracles, such as [any other] man never did or will do. Discharge him therefore ; and if his doings are from God, they will stand, but if from men, they will end in nothing.

As happened also when God sent Moses into Egypt, and Pharaoh, king of Egypt, spoke to him that he should perform a miracle, and he performed it. Then Pharaoh had two magicians, Jannes and Jambres. And they also performed miracles by the use of magic arts, but not such as Moses performed. And the Egyptians regarded such magicians as gods. But because they themselves were not from God their performances ended in nothing.

This Jesus, indeed, raised Lazarus [from the dead], and he is still alive. On this account I beseech you, my lord, that you will in no wise permit such a physician and life-preserver to be murdered.

The Hebrews were incensed

^{38a} *Monac. A and B.*

³⁹ Not in *Paris A.* Thilo copies it from three other manuscripts.

PARIS A.

were menacing, and gnashing their teeth against Nicodemus.

And Pilate says to them : Why do you gnash your teeth against Nicodemus, for he speaks truth ?

The Jews answered Nicodemus : May you receive his truth and his portion.

Nicodemus says : Amen, Amen. [Be it] as you say.

PARIS D.

against Nicodemus, and said to

him : May you inherit the truth of Jesus and have part with him.

Nicodemus says : Amen, Amen, Amen, be it to me as you say.

§ 9. *Those Cured testify to the Miracles of Jesus.*

From among the Jews, moreover, another springing forward desired to speak a word to the governor.

The governor says : If you wish anything, speak.

(The Jew said)^{39a} : Thirty-eight years I lay on a couch, suffering intensely. And when Jesus came, many possessed by demons and prostrated by various diseases were healed by his presence. And some very trustful persons, having compassion on me, carried me with my couch, and brought me to him. And Jesus seeing me had compassion on me, and spoke a word, Rise, take up thy couch and walk. And immediately I was healed and took up my couch and walked.⁴⁰

The Jews say to Pilate : Ask him on what day he was healed.

He having been asked by Pilate concerning the day says : On a sabbath.

The Jews say : Is not this in accordance with our affirmation that he cures and casts out demons on the sabbath ?

Nicodemus having said these things, another Hebrew getting up says to Pilate : I beseech you, lord Pilate, hear me also.

I lay helpless on a couch for thirty-eight years, and on seeing

me he felt sorrow and spoke to me : Arise, take up your couch and depart to your house. And while he was uttering this I arose and walked about.

The Jews say : Ask him on what day of the week this *lifting also your bed* occurred.

He says : On a sabbath.

The Jews spoke : And therefore we say truly, that he does not keep the sabbath.

^{39a} *Monac. A.*

⁴⁰ Compare John 5, 5-16.

PARIS A.

You, therefore, wish this man for king and not Cæsar.

Pilate, being angry, says ⁴⁸ to the Jews : Your nation is always turbulent and you oppose your benefactors.

The Jews say: What benefactors ?

Pilate says : As I hear, your God led you out from oppressive slavery, out of the land of Egypt, and saved you through the sea as if it had been dry land, and nourished you with manna in the desert and gave you a measure of quails, and from a rock supplied you with water to drink, and gave you a law. And after all these things you provoked your God, and sought out a molten calf, and incensed your God and he sought to kill you. And Moses interceded for you and you were not destroyed. And now you charge me that I hate the king.

And Pilate rising from the tribunal sought to go out.

And the Jews cried to Pilate, saying : We recognize Cæsar as king, but not Jesus. For the magi offered him gifts as to a king, and Herod, hearing from the magi that a king was born, sought to kill him. But his father Joseph, knowing thereof, took him and his mother and fled to Egypt. And Herod hearing of it destroyed the children in Bethlehem.

(And Pilate hearing these words from the Jews was frightened.)

And Pilate silencing the multi-

PARIS D.

and if you should free him he — *becomes king* ⁴⁷ — will take the kingdom of Cæsar.

Pilate thereupon got angry, and spoke : ⁴⁸ Your race was always devilish and faithless, and you were always adversaries of your benefactors.

The Hebrews spoke : And who were our benefactors ?

Pilate says : God, who freed you from the hand of Pharaoh, and passed you through the Red Sea as if on dry land, and fed you ⁴⁹ . . . with water from the rock and who gave you a law, which you disregarded, denying God ; and, unless Moses had stood beseeching God, you would all have perished by a bitter death. You, indeed, forgot all those things, and after the same manner, say now that I do not love Cæsar, but hate him, and wish to plot against his authority.

And having said these things Pilate rose in anger from his seat, wishing to fly from them.

The Jews thereupon cried out saying : We wish Cæsar to reign over us, not Jesus, because Jesus received gifts from the magi. And Herod also heard this, that he would become a king and [Herod] wished to put him to death and, to this end, sent and killed all the children in Bethlehem. And on this account also Joseph, his father, and his mother fled, from fear of these things, into Egypt.

Pilate therefore, hearing such statements, and being frightened, silenced all the people [and said] :

⁴⁷ Either two texts are copied or *and* must be supplied, which Thilo has done.

⁴⁸ The remarks of Pilate were doubtless interpolated, not long after the Jewish rebellion against Hadrian, at a time when some Christians addressed the Jews in a similar strain.

⁴⁹ The MS. must have omitted something.

PARIS A.

tudes because of their crying out, says :) ⁵⁰ So, this is he whom Herod sought ?

The Jews say : Yes, this is he.

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Then this is the Jesus whom Herod at that time sought to kill ?

They say to him : Yes.

Pilate, therefore, becoming aware that he [Jesus] belonged to Herod's jurisdiction, *because descended from the race of Jews*,⁵¹ sent Jesus to him.

And Herod on seeing him rejoiced greatly, for he had been desiring to see him, hearing of the miracles which he was accustomed to perform. Therefore he clothed him with white garments, and began to ask him : Whence are you, and of what race ?

But Jesus gave him no answer.

But Herod wishing to see some miracle, such as [had been] formerly performed by Christ, and not seeing [any], but, [perceiving] that he did not even give him a civil answer, sent him again to Pilate.

But the people cried out : Let him be crucified.

Pilate, noting this, spoke to his servants to bring water, and these brought it. Washing his hands, therefore, with the water, he said to the people : I am innocent of the blood of this excellent man. You shall see that you are murdering this man unjustly,

since neither did I find fault in him, nor yet Herod. For on this account [Herod] sent this man back to me.

The Jews spoke : His blood [be] upon us and upon our children.

But the chief priests turbulently urged the people, in order to destroy him more promptly.

Then Pilate, taking water, washed his hands publicly,⁵² saying : I am innocent of the blood of this just man. You shall see [to it, or, the result of it].

And again the Jews cry out, that his blood [be] on us and on our children.

⁵⁰ *Monac. B.*

⁵¹ This is a sample of mistakes which would have found place in the Gospels, had they been of late origin.

⁵² Literally, *in presence of the sun*, or, to use a modern expression, *in sight of heaven*.

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PARIS D.

And the people again to Pilate [. . . ?]

Then says Pilate to Jesus: You are the king of the Jews?

But Jesus gave him no answer.

Pilate says: Do you not speak to me? Do you not know that I have authority to crucify you and authority to free you?

Therefore Jesus spoke to him: You have not a particle of authority against me, except it were given you from above.

§ 11. *Crucifixion of Jesus.*

Then Pilate commanded the accused⁵³ to be brought before the tribunal where he was sitting,

and gave judgment as follows against Jesus.

SENTENCE BY PILATE. Your own nation has convicted you as [claiming to be] a king, and on this account I have decreed that he [you]

be first scourged, because of the ordinance of the pious kings, and then

be hung on a cross,

in the garden where he was [you were] seized and two malefactors with him.⁵⁴

Then Pilate seated himself on his official seat, that he might give judgment against Jesus. He decreed, therefore, and Jesus came before him.

And they brought a crown of thorns and placed it upon his head and a reed upon [in his] right hand.

Then he gave judgment, and says to him:

Your race says and testifies [concerning] you that you wish to reign. On this account I decree that

they shall first strike you with a staff forty blows, as the laws of the kings decree, and that they shall make sport of you, and finally that

they shall crucify you.

Such judgment, therefore, from Pilate having taken place, the Jews began to strike Jesus, some with staves, others with their hands, others with their feet, and others spit in his face.

⁵³ Τὸ Βῆλον. The translation is conjectural.

⁵⁴ "Let Dysmas and Stegas, the two malefactors, be crucified with you." — *Monac. A.*

PARIS A.

And immediately they led out Jesus from the Prætorium at the same time with the two malefactors.

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Immediately, therefore, having prepared the cross, they took [him] away to crucify him. And having given this [the cross] to him, they hurried to be on their way.

And as he was thus going, carrying also his cross, he came to the gate of the city of Jerusalem. But as he was not able to walk, because of the many blows, and because of the weight of the cross, these [people] because of the desire which the Jews had to crucify him [with] speed, taking⁵⁵ from him the cross, gave it to a Cyrenian who met them, Simon by name, [who was] coming from the country, who had two sons, Alexander and Rufus, — and he was from the city of Cyrene — they gave him, therefore, the cross. Not out of compassion towards Jesus, and to lighten him of the burden, but desiring, as has been said, to murder him sooner, they impressed him, the Cyrenian, that he should carry his cross. And they bring him to the place Golgotha, which translated is, Place of a Skull.⁵⁶

And when they arrived at the spot,

the soldiers divested Jesus of his garments, and girded him with a linen cloth,

and encircled his head with a crown of thorns,

Then were saved . . . ^{56a} to the place called Skull, which was strown [or, paved] with stones; and there the Jews [?] placed the cross.

And the soldiers took off his garments and divided these things among themselves.

And they offered him to drink wine mingled with myrrh, which he did not take.

And they put on him a purple

⁵⁵ The Greek is ungrammatical and confused, owing apparently to the mingling of two, or more, narratives.

⁵⁶ Here follows in *Paris D* an interpolation later by several centuries than the original document, for it styles Mary *Mother of God*.

^{56a} There must here be an omission. Cp. Greek copy (Am. edit.) of *Paris D*, p. 22, note 1.

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and crucified him, and at the

same time suspended the two
malefactors with him.

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cloak, that is a purple Rosos [Rasos?], and weaving a crown of thorns they put it on his head, and bending their knees before him they mocked him, saying : Hail, king of the Jews ! And spitting on him, they took a reed and struck him on his head. And after they had mocked him they took off the cloak, that is the Rasos [Rosos?], which is called purple. And they put on him his own garments and led him away that he might be crucified. And crucifying him they divided his garments, casting lots upon them [to determine] what each one should take.⁵⁷

And it was the sixth⁵⁸ hour of the day. They lifted him on the cross, and crucifying him destroyed⁵⁹ him.

And the inscription of his alleged crime was written over him in Greek and Romaic and Hebrew letters, saying, This is the king of the Jews.

And they crucified with him two robbers, one on the right and one on the left.

And the passers-by uttered abusive language towards him, shaking their heads and saying : Oh, you, who destroy the temple and build it again in three days, save yourself and descend from the cross. In like manner the chief priests with the scribes said mockingly to each other : The Christ, the son of Israel, saved others. He cannot save himself. Let him now descend from the cross, that we may see and believe him.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ The reference by Justin Martyr (*Apol.* 1, 35) to this passage implies that in the middle of the second century it was to be found, in the *Acts of Pilate*, corresponding apparently with the text here given.

⁵⁸ The manuscript here uses a numeral.

⁵⁹ The translation of this word is conjectural.

⁶⁰ Here follows in *Paris D* an interpolation of monkish times, a long lamentation by the "Mother of God."

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But Jesus said : Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.

And the soldiers divided his garments.

And the people stood looking on. And the chief priests and elders of the people sneered at him saying : He saved others and cannot save himself. If he is the Son of God, let him descend ~~now~~ from the cross and we will believe on him. And the soldiers made game of him, coming and offering him vinegar and gall and they said : If you are the Christ, the king of the Jews, save yourself.

And Pilate, after the sentence, commanded also an inscription to be written, [specifying] the charge against him, in Greek letters.⁶¹

And a certain one of the suspended malefactors, Gestas by name, said to Jesus : If you are the Christ save yourself and us.

But Demas, the other, answering, rebuked him, saying : Have you no fear of God, because you are under the same condemnation ? And we [are condemned] justly, for we indeed receive the proper [consequences] of what we have done. But this man has committed no crime. And he said to Jesus, Remember me, Lord, when you shall come in your kingdom.

Jesus spoke to him : Verily I

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Then Jesus cried with a loud voice saying : Do not charge this sin to them, for the wretched [ones] do not know what they are doing.

Then he says : I am thirsty. And immediately one of the soldiers ran, and taking a sponge and filling it, and placing it on a reed, gave him to drink. And having tasted he would not drink.

But the Jews standing and looking on ridiculed him and said : If you said truly that you are the Son of God, descend from the cross, and immediately, that we may believe on you. Others ridiculing him, said : He saved others, he cured and healed others, infirm, palsied, lepers, demoniacs, blind, lame, dead, and he cannot likewise save himself.

And the robber, crucified on his left hand, said to him : If you are the Son of God, descend from the cross and save yourself and us. His name was Gestas. But the robber crucified on the right, named Dysmas, reproached that same robber, saying : O miserable and wretched [man], do you not fear God ? We indeed suffer what our deeds deserve. But he has done and committed no crime whatever. And this robber on the right turning, accosted Jesus and says : Lord, remember me when you shall come in your kingdom. But Jesus spoke to him : Verily : I say to you this

⁶¹ "In Romaic and Hebrew letters, in accordance with what the Jews stated that he is king of the Jews." — *Monac. B.* The same with omission of "*and Hebrew*" is found in *Monac. A.*

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say to you, Demas: To-day you shall be with me in Paradise.⁶²

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day you shall be with me in Paradise.⁶³

Then Jesus crying with a loud voice, spoke: Father, into thy hands will I commit my spirit. And with this utterance he expired. [Cp. § 12 of Paris A.]

§ 12. *Accompaniments of the Crucifixion.*

And it was about the sixth hour.

And darkness took place upon the earth until the ninth hour, the sun being darkened. And the veil of the temple was rent in two from top to bottom.

And Jesus crying with a loud voice, said: Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit. And having uttered this he gave up the spirit.⁶⁵ [Cp. § 11 of Paris D.]

The centurion, seeing what took place, glorified God, saying that: This man is just. And all the crowds who were passing to see this spectacle, when they saw the occurrences, returned, beating their breasts.

And it was about the sixth hour. And immediately a very great earthquake occurred over the whole earth, so that the whole world shuddered. And because of the excessive earthquake the rocks were rent and the sepulchres of the dead were opened, and many BODIES of the Just were awakened,⁶⁴ and the sun was darkened, and the veil of the temple was rent in the middle, and darkness took place over the whole earth until the ninth hour.

And when all these things took place, the Jews being frightened, some of them said *that* In reality this man was just. Longinus, the centurion, standing up boldly, spoke: Truly, this man was Son of God. Others coming and seeing him, [commenced] beating their breasts, and immediately turned back again from fear.

⁶² This can scarcely have been added before the fourth century. See *Underworld Mission*, pp. 144, 145; 3d edit. pp. 138, 139.

⁶³ Another monkish interpolation of *Paris D* occurs here. It narrates that when Joseph and the "Mother of God" fled to Egypt thirty-three years previously, the leprous child of the right-hand robber was cured by being washed in the same water which had been used for the infant Jesus.

⁶⁴ Cp. close of § 13. Did the souls await the resurrection of Jesus? The genuineness of the similar passage in Matthew 27, 52, 53, has been questioned. See Norton, *Genuineness*, I, Appendix, Note A, Section v.

⁶⁵ In some of the MSS. the Hebrew of Psalm 31, 5 (*Septuagint*, 30, 6) is here copied with the Greek appended as a translation.

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But the centurion reported to the governor all the occurrences. And the governor and his wife hearing of it were exceedingly grieved [depressed ?] and neither ate nor drank on that day. And Pilate summoning the Jews spoke to them : You have beheld the occurrences.

But they spoke to him : An eclipse of the sun has taken place, a usual thing.⁶⁶

And all the relatives of Jesus stood afar, and the women who followed him from Galilee, looking at these things.

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But the centurion, having noticed all such wonders, going to Pilate, narrated these things. But he hearing [the narration] wondered and was astounded, and because of his fear and grief, would not eat nor drink on that day. He gave notice, moreover, and the whole Sanhedrim came so soon as the darkness had passed. And Pilate spoke to the people : You see how a great earthquake took place ; You see how the veil of the temple was rent in the midst ; You see how darkness took place over the whole inhabited earth from the sixth to the ninth hour. In reality I did well in exhorting you not to murder the excellent man.

But all the miscreants were utterly unbelieving. On the contrary they said to Pilate, *that* : Such darkness is an eclipse of the sun, similar to what has occurred in other times.

Pilate says to them : If this darkness be an eclipse of the sun as you say, what do you pronounce the other marvels and shuddering prodigies ?

And they had nothing to answer.

And while he was saying these things, the Jews coming *and* (?) spoke to Pilate : My Lord, the inscription above the head of Jesus was not written properly, for it testifies that he is our king. Therefore we beseech you, that you decree and write there, that this man said that he was king of the Jews.

⁶⁶ This oversight was subsequently remedied in some copies by an interpolation. According to *Monac. A.*, "Pilate said to them : Foulest of men, this is your truthfulness in all things. I know that this never occurs except at new moon [literally, at the moon's birth]. You ate your passover yesterday on the fourteenth of the month, and [yet] you say an eclipse of the sun occurred." — **Thilo**, p. 594, n.

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PARIS D.

Pilate said to them : What I have written, I have written.

Then they say to him : We have the feast of unleavened bread all of to-morrow, and we beseech you, since the crucified yet breathe, that their bones may be broken, and that they may be taken down.

Pilate spoke : Let this take place. He sent soldiers, therefore, and they found the robbers breathing, and broke their legs. But finding Jesus dead, and [?] they did not touch him. Then one soldier leaving [his companions] and [?] pierced Jesus with a spear in the right side, and immediately there came out blood and water.^{66a}

§ 13. *Joseph esteems and buries Jesus.*

And, behold, a man named Joseph, who was a councillor, a good and just man,

(*Monac. B.*, this man had not assented to their design nor action) — from Arimathea, a city of the Jews — himself also awaiting the kingdom of God, this man

But towards evening of the *Preparation*, that was closing, a certain Joseph, a well-born and wealthy man, a *Monotheist*, a Jew, finding the Nicodemus whom the previous account has made known, says to him : I know that you loved Jesus while he was alive, and gladly heard his teachings, and I saw you combating the Jews on his account. If it seems good to you, therefore, let us go to Pilate and ask the body of Jesus for burial, since it is a great sin that he should lie unburied.

I am afraid, says Nicodemus, lest [owing to] Pilate being angry I should suffer some injury. But if you, going alone and asking, should receive the dead, then I also will accompany you and will co-operate in per-

^{66a} Here follow for the second time citations from Jeremiah, Zechariah and Isaiah, which had already been interpolated into a passage of John mentioned in note 19.

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coming to Pilate, requested the body of Jesus. And Pilate permitted [or, directed] that the body be given him. And taking it he wrapped it in pure linen and placed it in a rock-hewn sepulchre, in which no one had ever yet lain.

And the Jews, hearing that Joseph had asked for the body of Jesus, were seeking both him

and the twelve who had said that Jesus was not born of fornication, and for Nicodemus and many others, who, springing forward before Pilate, had made manifest his good works.

And all [others of them] having concealed themselves, Nicodemus only made his appearance to them, because he was a ruling man of the Jews. And Nicodemus says to them : How can you [dare] enter the synagogue ?

The Jews say : How do you [dare] enter the synagogue ? For you are his accomplice and his portion [be] yours in the future life.

Nicodemus says : Amen, Amen.

In like manner Joseph, coming forward from [his concealment ?]⁶⁸ said to them : Why are you vexed at me because I asked the body of Jesus ? Behold, I put it in my new sepulchre, wrapping it in pure linen, and I rolled a stone against the

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forming thoroughly all things appropriate to burial.⁶⁷

The Jews having learned that these things had been done by Joseph and Nicodemus, were very indignant at them, and the high-priests, Annas and Caiaphas, manifesting [it] to Joseph, spoke to him : Why did you perform this sepulture for the dead Jesus ?

⁶⁷ Here follows a passage in which Mary is called Mother of God. It is of course later by centuries than the original document.

⁶⁸ Παρεκβάς.

PARIS A.

door of the sepulchre. And you have not done well towards the just man, that having crucified him you did not repent, but raised a spear against him.

The Jews, having heard these things from Joseph, immediately seizing him, commanded that he be made safe until the (first)^{68a} day of the week, saying : The hour does not permit doing anything against you, because the sabbath is about dawning, and you will not be deemed worthy of sepulture, but we will give your flesh to the birds of heaven.

Joseph says to them : This is the speech of the arrogant Goliath, who uttered contumely towards the living God and the holy David. But God spoke through the prophets : To me [belongs] thorough vengeance ; I will repay, says the Lord. And now the uncircumcised in flesh, but circumcised in heart, taking water, washed his hands in presence of the sun, saying : I am innocent of the blood of this just man, you shall see. And answering Pilate you said : His blood [be] upon us and upon our children. And now I fear lest the anger of the Lord be close upon you and upon your children, in accordance with what you [then] said.

But the Jews having heard these words were embittered in soul,

and laying hold of Joseph, seized him and shut him into a house where there was no win-

PARIS D.

Joseph says : I know Jesus [to have been] a just man, true and good in all things, and I know you, that from envy you accomplished his murder, and therefore I took charge of his burial.

Then the high-priests getting angry and seizing Joseph, threw him into prison and said to him : Except to-morrow [were upon us]^{68b} we would have put you to death ! For the present remain

^{68a} *Monac. B.*^{68b} The Sabbath began Friday evening.

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dow. (?) And guards remained at the door.

PARIS D.

under guard, but on the LORD'S DAY⁶⁹ early you will be delivered to death. They spoke these things, and marked with a seal the prison, which was secured by all manner of locks.

The Preparation having come therefore thus to an end, the Jews, early on the sabbath, went off to Pilate and spoke to him : That deceiver, while yet alive, spoke [to the effect] that after three days he should be raised. Lest his disciples, stealing him by night, should mislead the people by such a falsehood, command, we pray you, that his sepulchre be guarded.

Pilate, therefore, gave them five hundred soldiers, who seated themselves on the sepulchre to guard it. Placing also seals [upon] the stone of the sepulchre, they guarded it during the sabbath until the first dawn of the LORD'S DAY.

After this a great earthquake again took place first, then a lightning-bearing angel of the Lord coming from heaven rolled the stone from the sepulchre and sat upon it. And from [fear] of the angel the soldiers became as dead. Then the Lord arose, wakened Adam and all the prophets, whom the devil had in his power. He there wakened also all believers on him.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Anachronisms like this would have crept into the Gospels had they been written after the first century.

⁷⁰ The original document seems to have ended here. The following *doxology* is subjoined in *Paris D* and *Cod. Venet.* :

“The name of the Lord be praised
With his Father and the all-holy spirit
Now and always and to ages of ages.”

as also the following subscription in *Paris D* :

“End of the Holy Sufferings and beginning of HIS resurrection ; of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

§ 14. *Heathens testify to the Resurrection.*

And on the sabbath the chiefs of the synagogue and priests and Levites decreed that all should assemble [literally, be found] in the synagogue on the first day of the week. And rising early, all plotted in the synagogue, by what death they should kill Joseph.

And while the council [or Sanhedrim] was sitting, they commanded him to be brought with much ignominy. And having opened the door they did not find him. And the whole people was astounded, and they became amazed, because they found the seals and doors sealed, and that Caiaphas had the key. And thereafter, they no longer dared to lay their hands on those who had spoken before Pilate concerning Jesus.

And while they were yet sitting in the synagogue,

and wondering on account of Joseph,

some of the guard came, whom the Jews had requested from Pilate to watch the sepulchre of Jesus, lest the disciples coming should steal him. And they announced to the chiefs of the synagogue and priests and Levites, stating the events which had taken place, how "a great earthquake occurred while we were watching the sepulchre, and we saw how an angel descended from heaven and rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulchre and sat upon it.

And his appearance was like lightning, and his garment white as snow, and from fear of him we became as dead."⁷¹

When, therefore, the Lord's Day dawned, the chief [or high] priests held a council with the Jews, and sent to put Joseph out of prison, for the purpose of killing him. And having opened [it] they did not find him. And they were surprised at this, as to how, the doors being shut and the keys safe, and the seals having been found [unbroken] but Joseph was become invisible.

And hereupon a soldier, one of those who had guarded the sepulchre, coming up, spoke in the synagogue: Learn that Jesus has risen.

The Jews say: How?

But he said: "First a great earthquake took place, then a lightning-bearing angel of the Lord coming from heaven, rolled the stone [from] the sepulchre and sat upon it, and from fear of him all we soldiers became as dead, and

were unable either to fly or speak. And we

⁷¹ In *Monac.* *A* this reads, "and we lay in great fright."

PARIS A.

And we heard the angel saying to the women who stayed by the tomb of Jesus, and he said: Be not afraid, for I know that you seek Jesus the crucified. He is not here, for he has risen in accordance with what he spoke. Approach; see the place where the Lord was lying; and going quickly speak to his disciples, that he has risen from the dead, and behold, he precedes you into Galilee. There ye shall see him in accordance with what he spoke to you.

The Jews say: To what women was he talking?

The guards say: We do not know who they were.

The Jews say: Why did you not seize the women?

The guards say: We were become as if dead from fright, not hoping to see the light of day; and how could we seize them?

The Jews say: As the Lord lives we do not believe you.

The guards say: You saw so many miracles in that man and you did not believe, and how can you believe us? For you swore well that as the Lord lives, we do not believe you. For he [the Lord] does live.

And again the guards say: We have heard that you shut up him who asked for the body of Jesus, sealing also the door, and having opened it, you did not find him. Give us Joseph, and we will give you Jesus.

The Jews say: We will give you Joseph; Give us Jesus also.

The guards say: First do you give us Joseph, and then we will give you Jesus likewise.

PARIS D.

heard the angel saying to the women, who had come thither to see the sepulchre,

that: Be not afraid, for I know that you seek Jesus. He is not here, but has risen as he told you beforehand. Bend down and see the sepulchre where the body of Jesus lay.

Go, however, and tell his disciples that he has risen from the dead, and that they shall go in [into] Galilee, for there they shall find him.

On this account I [the soldier] tell you this previously.

The Jews say to the soldiers: What women were they that came to the sepulchre?

and why did you not seize them?

The soldiers say: From fear, and [from] the sight alone of the angel, we were neither able to speak nor to move.

The Jews spoke: As the God of Israel lives that we believe nothing of what you say.

The soldiers say: Jesus performed such miracles and you did not believe [him], and [how] are you to believe us now? You say truly, that God lives, and indeed he truly lives even whom you crucified.

But did we not hear that you had Joseph shut up in prison, then opening the doors you did not find him. Give us Joseph, and we will also, on this condition, give you Jesus.

PARIS A.

The Jews say : Joseph has departed to his own city.

The guards say to the Jews : And Jesus is [gone] into Galilee, as we heard from the angel who rolled away the stone, that : He precedes you into Galilee.

And the Jews, having heard these words, were greatly vexed, saying : This account must by no means be heard [lest] all be inclined towards Jesus. And holding a council among themselves, they laid down a considerable quantity of silver and gave it to the soldiers, saying : State, that His disciples, coming by night, stole him while we were asleep. And, if this should be heard by the governor,

we will persuade him and will save you any anxiety.

But they taking the silver did as they had been taught. And this report has circulated among the Jews UNTIL THE PRESENT TIME.⁷²

PARIS D.

The Jews say : Joseph, a fugitive from prison, you will find him in Arimathea, his country.

The soldiers also say : Go you also to Galilee and you will find Jesus, as the angel stated to the women.

Hereupon, being frightened, the Jews spake to the soldiers : See that you utter to no one this account, and [lest ?] all shall believe on Jesus. To which end

also they gave them much silver, that they might state : While we slept his disciples came and stole him.

The soldiers spoke : We fear lest Pilate should hear that we took silver, and should put us to death.

The Jews spoke : Take it and we pledge ourselves to render an apology to Pilate in your behalf. Only state that you slept.

And the soldiers took the silver, and stated as they had been ordered, and UNTIL THE PRESENT DAY such a false account is circulated by the Jews.

§ 15. *Jews testify to the Resurrection.*

But Phineas, a certain priest, and Addas, a teacher, and Angæus, a Levite, coming down from Galilee in [to] Jerusalem, narrated to the chiefs of the synagogue and to the priests and Levites, that

And, after a few days, three men came from Galilee to Jerusalem. One was a priest named Phineas : another a Levite named Angæus, but the remaining one a soldier named Adas. These came to the chief-priests and stated to them and to the

⁷² The language coincides closely with that of Matthew, 28, 11-15. See p. 89.

PARIS A.

they saw Jesus and his disciples sitting on mount Admonition. And he said to his disciples :

Going into the whole world, proclaim to all the creation that whoever believes and is baptized will be saved, but the unbeliever will be condemned.

And these miracles shall follow believers. In my name they shall cast out demons, they shall speak in [to them] new languages, and shall lift serpents in their hands, and if they shall drink anything deadly, it shall not injure them. They shall lay their hands on the sick and these shall get well.

While Jesus was yet speaking to his disciples, we saw him taken up into heaven.

The elders and priests and Levites say : Give glory to the God of Israel and make acknowledgment to him if ye have heard and seen what ye narrate.

The narrators say, that : As the Lord God of our fathers lives, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, we have heard these things and we saw him taken up into heaven.

The Jews say to them : Did you come for this, to make a glad announcement, or did you come that you might offer prayer to God ?

They say : That we may offer prayer to God.

The Jews say to them : To what purpose then is this silly talk which you have been nonsensically talking before all the people ?

Phineas says, [as] also Addas, the teacher, and Angeus the Levite, to the chiefs of the synagogue and to the priests and Levites : If these words which we have spoken are a sin, lo, we are before you. Do

PARIS D.

people : We saw in Galilee that Jesus, whom you crucified, with his eleven disciples on the mount of Olives, teaching them and saying : Go into the whole world and proclaim the gospel, and he who believes and is baptized will be saved, but the unbeliever will be condemned. And having said these things he ascended to heaven.

And both we, and many others of the five hundred there, saw him.

And the chief priests and Jews, having heard these things, spoke to those three men : Give glory to the God of Israel, and repent of these, your falsehoods.

These three answered : As lives the Lord God of our fathers, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, we do not falsify but speak truly.

PARIS A.

to us what seems good in your eyes.

But they, taking [a book of] the Law, adjured them to narrate these accounts to no one any further. And they gave them to eat and drink and put them out of the city, having given them also *silver* and three men to put them again into Galilee. And they departed.⁷³

PARIS D.

Then the high-priest adjured them, and giving them money sent them away to another place, that they should not proclaim the resurrection of the Lord in Jerusalem.

The foregoing not only comprises everything in *Paris A* and *Paris D*, which can reasonably be regarded as part of the original *Acts of Pilate*, but includes many of the additions. The remainder of these documents, as printed by Thilo,⁷⁴ cannot have formed part of the original composition.

NOTE B.

PILATE'S REPORT.

ASIDE from the Acts of Pilate which have been given in the preceding Note, a letter from Pontius Pilate to Tiberius was fabricated, either as a support to the preceding document or as an independent fraud. Tertullian (see Note A, footnote 1)

⁷³ "And they gave them to eat and drink, and putting them out of the city, let them go, having given them also three men so as to take them safely [without any talking?] as far as Galilee." — *Monac. A*, Thilo, p. 626.

⁷⁴ A portion of the remainder is weak and objectless. A search through the country, prompted by Nicodemus, finds nothing of Jesus, but does find Joseph, who gives a lecture to the murderers of Jesus.

Another portion is a narrative by two sons of that Simeon, who blessed Jesus when a child. They had died and been buried some time previously. They were among those raised at the resurrection of Jesus. They narrate to the Jewish rulers the deeds of Jesus in the Underworld, of which the reader will find a brief abstract in *Underworld Mission*, pp. 161, 162; 3d. edit. pp. 155, 156. These omitted portions constitute about half of the whole document as printed by Thilo.

refers to it. At present this letter appears in several forms, occasioned perhaps by the different wants of controversialists. The longer Latin form of the letter is herewith translated. I understand Thilo to mean that he takes it as given in his text from the Einsiedlen MS.,¹ and as given in his notes from the *Orthodoxographa*.²

§ 1 *Longer Latin Form.*

Codex Einsidlensis.

PONTIUS PILATE TO HIS SOVEREIGN
CLAUDIUS,³ GREETING.

Lately it happened with my sanction that the Jews through envy punished themselves and their posterity by cruelly sentencing [a person] concerning whom, when their fathers had a promise that their God would send to them from his holy Heaven [one] who should deservedly be called their king, and had promised that he would send this king to the earth through a virgin.⁴ When the God of the Hebrews during my procuratorship had sent that king into Judea, and when the Hebrews had seen him give light to the blind, purify the lepers, cure paralytics, drive demons out of men, call to life even the dead, control the winds, walk with dry feet over waves of the sea, and do many other miraculous wonders, and when many of the Jewish people believed him to be

Monumenta Orthodoxographa.

Lately it happened, of which thing I can bear testimony, that the Jews through envy destroyed themselves and all their posterity by cruelly sentencing [a person]. For when by the promise of oracles received by the authority of their ancestors they expected as follows, namely, that their God would through a young virgin send [one] who should justly be called their king, he sent this [person] into Judea during my presence there. He, as is known to all, restored sight to the blind, cleansed lepers, cured paralytics. They saw him also drive out demons and liberate those possessed by impure spirits. He also resuscitated from their sepulchres the dead. The storms of wind obeyed him; he walked on the sea with dry feet. He did also very many other miracles so that he was commonly called among Jews and the common people the Son of God.

¹ Thilo, p. 796 n. The letter, subjoined in this MS. to the Acts of Pilate, is given in **Thilo**, *Cod. Apoc.* pp. 796–800.

² Thilo states, p. cxxxiv, that he knows not the MS. origin of the Latin which he has given in notes on pp. 798–800, and which is here translated. It is perhaps nearer than the Einsiedlen MS. to the original letter.

³ This was a portion of the fuller name Tiberius Claudius Cæsar.

⁴ The sentence is imperfect in the Latin. In the corresponding passage of the *Orthodoxographa* the expression is *virginem juvenculum*. Possibly this may be intended to mean an immature virgin.

Codex Einsidlensis.

the Son of God, the chief priests and scribes, and Pharisees of the Jews experienced envy towards him, and seizing, delivered him to me as procurator, and stated to me falsely a variety of things concerning him, asserting that he was a magician and acted⁵ contrary to their law. I, however, believed their charges, and delivered him after a scourging to their decision. They, however, crucified him *on a wooden cross*⁶ and burying him when dead placed guards, the soldiers of my Prætorium guarding his sepulchre and sealing it. On the third day he arose from the sepulchre. The wickedness of the Jews, however, flamed out to such a degree that they gave money to my soldiers, saying: State that⁷ his disciples stole his body by night. But my soldiers, after they had received the money, could not be silent as to the truth of what had occurred, but testified that he had risen from the sepulchre, and said that they had received money from the Jews.

Therefore I suggest to the sovereign that no one spread a *contrary falsehood* and decide⁸ to credit untruths of the Jews.

Monumenta Orthodoxographa.

The chief priests, however, moved by rivalry and envy, were opposed to him, and delivered him, captured, to me, charging him as a criminal with fictitious crimes: they called him a magician, a renegade from, and transgressor of, their law, by which persuasions I, misled, credited their complaints and delivered him, scourged, to them that they should proceed against him as they deemed proper. But they thereupon crucified him and placed guards over the sepulchre in which he was deposited, among which guards also were some of my soldiers, who saw him on the third day rising from the dead. The wickedness of the Jews, however, flamed out the more hereupon, and they paid a large sum of money to the soldiers as an inducement to affirm that his disciples had stolen the body by night. The soldiers accepted the money, but nevertheless affirmed and testified publicly everywhere that they had seen visions of angels, and that that Jesus had truly risen from the dead.

I, however, have written these things to the end that no one may credit the triflings and false-

⁵ For *magnum* read *magum*.

⁶ The words in Italics, omitted in one MS., were probably added during the rage for using arguments from the Old Testament. Compare in *Judaism*, p. 345, a remark of Middleton.

⁷ *Quia* is used here in the sense of the Greek word *ἔτι*. If not a translation it would indicate, that Latins who resided in Greek countries, or Greeks who wrote Latin, had affixed this meaning to the word.

⁸ For *æstimans* read *æstimet*. The preceding words in Italics may be an interpolation. Otherwise we might treat *et* as interpolated and translate "that no one spread a contrary falsehood [and] deciding to credit untruths of the Jews."

*Codex Einsidlensis.**Monumenta Orthodoxographa.*

I have directed to your mightiness [a record of] all things done touching Jesus in my Prætorium.⁹

hoods of the Jews if they give a different account of what has occurred. Farewell.

§ 2. Shorter Latin Form.¹⁰

PONTIUS PILATE, PROCURATOR OF JUDEA, TO TIBERIUS CÆSAR, EMPEROR, S. P.

Concerning Jesus Christ, — on whom in my last communications I made a plain declaration to you, that severe punishment was inflicted by desire of the people, I being unwilling and reluctant, — no previous age had or will have a man, by Hercules, so pious, so [morally] austere. But there arose a wonderful effort of the people itself, and a concurrence of the scribes and chiefs and elders, (although their prophets, who according to us would be called Sibyls, warned against it) to crucify this ambassador of truth, supernatural signs making their appearance while he was suspended [on the cross], such as threatened, in the opinion of philosophers, ruin to the whole world. His disciples flourish, not proving untrue in work and continence of life to their master; nay, being most beneficent in his name. Unless I had been in the utmost fear lest a sedition should arise of the people who were almost boiling over, perchance that man would still live for us. Although fidelity to your dignity, rather than my own will, prevented my opposing with all my strength the sale and suffering of just blood, void of any accusation, merely through the malignity of men [and] yet [to eventuate], as the Scriptures make plain, in their own destruction. Farewell. — *V. Cal. April.*

⁹ The paragraph in Italics is probably a later addition.

¹⁰ The letter in this form cannot be the one to which Tertullian (see Note A, footnote 1) refers. Thilo prints it in his *Codex Apocryphus*, pp. 801, 802. He mentions that it is nowhere found appended in manuscripts to the Acts of Pilate, or, to use his words, *a nemine, quod sciam, cum Nicodemi evangelio conjuncta est*. The letters S. P. appended to the inscription are an abbreviation probably of *Salutem Plurimam*, "utmost prosperity."

§ 3. *Greek Form.*REPORT OF PONTIUS PILATE, PROCURATOR OF JUDEA, SENT TO
TIBERIUS CÆSAR, AT ROME.

Pontius Pilate, administering the Eastern government, to Tiberius Cæsar, most powerful and sacred.¹¹

I have thought proper, filled [as I am] with much fear and trembling, most powerful king, to indicate by this, my own writing, to your Practical-piety, the ῥ πην contingency [to nature]¹² of this date as the event made it known.

While I, O master, according to the command of thy Serenity, was administering this eparchy, (*which is one of the eastern cities called Jerusalem, in which is situated the temple of the Jewish race*)¹³ the whole multitude of the Jews being assembled, delivered to me a man named Jesus, bringing many and unusual accusations against him, but they were not able by any statement to convict him. There was one party of them [who charged]¹⁴ against him that he said the sabbath was not their true rest.

That man performed many cures in addition to good works. He made the blind to see, purified lepers, raised the dead, healed paralytics who were totally unable to move, except that they retained speech and the articulation of their bones, and he gave them power to walk about and run, imparting it by a mere word. He did another more powerful work, which was strange even for our gods [to perform]: he raised from the dead a certain Lazarus, dead since the fourth day, commanding by a word only the dead man (whose body was already destroyed by worms and vermin) to awake, and he commanded that foul-smelling body which was lying in the sepulchre to run, and this [dead man], like a bridegroom from

¹¹ The translation of the title follows *Codex C*, which is less bombastic than that adopted by Thilo. His text for the remainder will be found in his *Codex Apoc.*, pp. 804-812. It is there followed (pp. 813-816) by a much later document entitled Παράδοσις Πιλάτου, "Surrender of Pilate," which represents Tiberius and the senate as sitting in judgment on Pilate and having him put to death.

¹² See Tertullian's remarks on this "accident to the world" quoted in *Judaism*, p. 442.

¹³ The passage in parenthesis is probably a later addition.

¹⁴ This insertion seems necessary to the sense.

his chamber, came out of the sepulchre filled with the most fragrant perfume.

Also certain hopelessly insane who had their dwelling in the deserts eating flesh of their own limbs, fellow-livers with the reptiles and wild beasts, [these] he placed as inhabitants of cities in their own houses, and by a mere word, exhibited them in their sound mind and intelligent; and others, in whom were a crowd of unclean spirits, he made to be men of repute, and driving out the demons who were in them into the sea, in a herd of swine, he choked them.

Also by a mere word he rendered sound another man who had a withered hand, who with pain acquired his living, not even having the half of his body sound.

Also a woman who had a flow of blood for a great length of time, so that because of it the joints of her bones were visible, and the body which she carried round had hardly a human appearance, but looked like alabaster, and as if it were a dead body because of her loss of blood, for all physicians proclaiming her hopeless, paid no attention to her, for there was no hope of preservation in her. Then as Jesus was passing, she receiving strength from his shadow, touched the hem of his garments, and in the same hour the strength of her body was restored, and she became sound as one who had had no disease, and began to run at full speed to her own city Paneas.

And these things were as narrated, but the Jews charged that Jesus did these things on the sabbath. But I know wonderful things done by him beyond what the gods, whom we recognize, perform.

Herod therefore, and Archelaus, and Philip, and Annas, and Caiaphas, with the whole people, delivered this man to me for examination, stirring up much tumult against me as regarded their accusations against him.

At first scourging him, I found no fault in the matters which they charged against him. Afterwards I gave him again to them, when THEY¹⁵ had crucified whom, a darkness occurred over the whole world, the full-orbed sun being hidden and the firmament of darkness appearing in daytime [so that the stars were *not* visible],¹⁶ but nevertheless having its

¹⁵ Crucifixion was a Roman, not a Jewish form of punishment. The statement that the Jews crucified Jesus is one of those mistakes which would have crept into the Gospels had they been of later origin.

¹⁶ The bracketed passage may be an interpolation. *Codex C* omits *not*. If it be genuine the translation should be, "so that [*even*] the stars were not visible."

far-shining brilliancy darkened as is not unknown to your Practical-piety, since in the whole world they lighted lamps from the sixth hour until early. And the moon being as blood did not disappear during the whole night, although she was full.^{16a} And the whole world was shaken by unheard-of portents, and the whole creation was about to be swallowed up by the underworld; likewise the veil of their temple was rent from above downwards as thunder and a great noise from heaven occurred so that the earth shook and trembled.¹⁷

[*Subsequent Addition.*]

In the midst of the fright dead persons appeared rising up. As the Jews themselves, who had seen, stated: That we have seen Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve Patriarchs, those (who had previously died) after Moses¹⁸ (twenty-five hundred years ago) and many others. (And we saw Noah visibly in the body.) But the stars and Orion made lamentation on account of the Jews, because of their lawlessness.

And after the sabbath, about the third hour of the night, the sun became visible as it never before shone, and the whole heaven was bright. And as winter lightnings make their appearance, thus certain men on high, of brilliant clothing and of inexpressible glory, appeared in the air, and an unnumbered multitude of angels, calling out: The crucified Christ has arisen, [*being a god*].¹⁹ And a voice was heard, powerful as thunder, saying: Glory in the highest to God and upon earth peace, among men good-will. Ascend from the underworld, you who have been enslaved in its subterranean regions. And at their cry all the mountains and hills were shaken, and the rocks were rent, and mighty chasms took place in the earth, so that the contents of the abyss were visible. And many bodies of the dead who had fallen asleep arose, to the number of

^{16a} The text is corrupted. It may have been, "the moon though full, was not eclipsed," or "being full, an eclipse of the sun was impossible."

¹⁷ The "addition" must be of later date, since it implies a well-developed belief in Christ's mission to the underworld, and bears plain traces of discussions connected with that subject. The concluding paragraph may, or may not, have been the original termination.

¹⁸ The reader will find in the *Underworld Mission*, § II., that a Gnostic teacher maintained the unwillingness of Jews in the underworld to follow Christ. In § III. of the same work will be found that some restricted the benefits of his underworld mission to Jews and their monotheistic predecessors. The contradiction in the text has perhaps been caused by efforts to include or omit followers of Moses. Its origin from two texts may be elucidated by printing as follows: εἶδομεν . . . τοὺς δώδεκα Πατριάρχας, τοὺς [προτετελευτηκότας] μετὰ Μωσῆα [πρὸ δισχιλῶν πεντακοσίων ἐτῶν] καὶ ἑτέρους πολλοὺς.

¹⁹ *Cod. A* omits the words in brackets.

five hundred, and the whole multitude walked around and hymned God with a loud voice, saying: He who rose from the dead, the Lord *our God*, restored to life all of us dead, and plundering the underworld, destroyed it.

The whole of that night, therefore, O Royal Master, the light did not cease, but many of the Jews died and were engulfed and swallowed up in the chasms on that night, so that their bodies were not visible. Those of the Jews I mean, O Master, had disappeared who spoke against Jesus [*so that I seemed to see some vision, the multitudes of ancient dead whom we have never seen*]. One synagogue was left in Jerusalem, where all those synagogues which opposed Jesus were swallowed up.

Being therefore beside myself with fear and seized with much trembling, determining that very hour to write the things which were done among them all, I sent them to your mightiness.²⁰

NOTE C.

CORRESPONDENCE.

OPENED BY KING ABGARUS WITH JESUS.

THE following spurious correspondence is found in **Eusebius** (*Ecc. Hist.* 1, 13), who alleges that his Greek is translated from the original Syriac in the public archives at Edessa. It must belong to the close of the third or beginning of the fourth century. The translation here adopted is that of Lardner altered.

COPY OF

A LETTER WRITTEN BY ABGARUS THE TOPARCH TO JESUS,
and sent to him at Jerusalem by the Courier Ananias.

Abgarus, Toparch of Edessa, to Jesus the good Saviour, who has appeared at Jerusalem, sendeth greeting.

²⁰ Subjoined to the letter is the following: "When these documents arrived in Rome and were read, all were astounded that because of Pilate's wickedness the darkness and earthquake took place over the whole world. And Caesar being filled with anger, sending soldiers, commanded to bring Pilate as a prisoner."

Appended to this is the "Surrender of Pilate," mentioned in note 11.

I have heard of thee and of thy cures, performed without herbs, or other medicines. For it is reported that thou makest the blind to see, and the lame to walk : that thou cleanseest lepers, and castest out unclean spirits and demons, and healest those who are tormented with diseases of a long standing, and raisest the dead.

Having heard of all these things concerning thee, I concluded in my mind one of these two things, — either that thou art God come down from heaven who doest these things, or else thou art the Son of God who performest them. Wherefore I now write unto thee, entreating thee to come to me, and to heal my distemper. Moreover, I hear that the Jews murmur against thee, and plot to do thee mischief. I have a city, small indeed, but neat, which may suffice for us both.

ANSWER OF JESUS TO ABGARUS THE TOPARCH.

(*Through Ananias the Courier.*)

Abgarus, thou art happy, forasmuch as thou hast believed in me, though thou hast not seen me. For it is written concerning me, that they who have seen me should not believe in me, that they who have not seen me might believe and live.¹ As for what thou hast written to me desiring me to come to thee, it is necessary that all those things, for which I am sent, should be fulfilled by me here : and that after fulfilling them, I should be received up to him that sent me. When therefore I shall be received up, I will send to thee some one of my disciples, that he may heal thy distemper, and give life to thee, and to those who are with thee.

Subjoined to the foregoing correspondence in Eusebius is a narrative, taken also professedly from the public archives at Edessa, concerning cures performed by Thaddeus in that city. It will be found hereafter in Note F, being separated from the foregoing in order that the reader may, by the aid of such classification, distinguish more readily the fabrications of testimony concerning the Master from those which concerned chiefly his followers.

¹ The reference must be to John's Gospel, 20, 29, which at the assumed date of this letter had not yet been written.

NOTE D.

LETTER OF LENTULUS.

THE following letter is not quoted by any early Christian writer. The fact that it is attributed to a heathen implies that it is not of later date than the fourth century. Possibly it belongs to the third. Its origin and object may be seen by recurring to Ch. III. § 14. The text of its Latin copies or translations differ from each other. One of these, a translation from the Persian, will be found in Fabricius, *Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test.* pp. 301, 301*, 302. He mentions another, substantially the same, but different in phraseology, as existing in the *Orthodoxographa*. It will be found in the Biblical Repository, Vol. 2, pp. 373–375, in an article by Professor E. Robinson, who has also given in footnotes the readings of different manuscripts. The letter must have had but little currency or it would have been quoted by some early writer.

Of the two versions here subjoined, one is from **Calmet's Dictionary**, made from De Dieu's Latin version of a Persian copy,¹ which was perhaps a modern translation from the Latin. Another, in the second column, is my own from the text of the *Orthodoxographa* as given by **Robinson**.

[A LETTER . . . WHICH WAS SENT
TO THE SENATE BY A *certain*
LENTULUS.²]

There has a man appeared
here, who is still living, named
Jesus Christ, whose power is
extraordinary. He has the title

LENTULUS, PREFECT OF JERUSA-
LEM, TO THE SENATE AND ROMAN
PEOPLE, GREETING.

In the present age a highly
endowed man has appeared who
is yet with us, named Jesus
Christ, who by Gentiles is styled

¹ In the sixteenth century Francis Xavier, during his missionary work in Asia, published a church history in Persian, in which the above-mentioned Persian copy of the letter from Lentulus is found. The supposition is reasonably certain that he supervised a translation of it from the Latin. "Xavier, at command of the Persian Emperor Acabar, composed, as it seems, this history in the Portuguese language, *lingua Lusitanica*, in Agra, the principal city of the whole kingdom; and his teacher Abdel Lenarin Kasen, originally from Lahore, translated it into Persian." — **Walch**, *Bibliotheca Theolog.* Vol. 3, p. 405.

² The heading is taken from the Jena MS. No. 2.

given to him of the Great Prophet; his disciples call him the Son of God. He RAISES THE DEAD, and HEALS all sorts of DISEASES.

He is a tall, well-proportioned man; there is an air of serenity in his countenance, which attracts at once the love and reverence of those who see him. His hair is of the color of new wine from the roots to his ears, and from thence to the shoulders it is curled, and falls down to the lowest part of them: Upon the forehead it parts in two, after the manner of the Nazarenes. His forehead is flat and fair, his face without any defect, and adorned with a very graceful vermilion; his air is majestic and agreeable. His nose and his mouth are very well proportioned, and his beard is thick and forked, of the color of his hair; his eyes are gray and extremely lively; in his reproofs he is terrible, but in his exhortations and instructions amiable and courteous; there is something wonderfully charming in his face, with a mixture of gravity. He is never seen to laugh, but he has been observed to weep. He is very straight in stature; his hands are large and spreading, and his arms very beautiful. He talks little, but with great gravity, and is the handsomest man in the world.

the Prophet of Truth,³ whom his disciples call the Son of God; [one] who AWAKENS THE DEAD and HEALS INFIRMITIES.

He is a man of prominent stature, arresting attention, having a countenance which inspires reverence, whom those that regard him can both love and fear; having curly and wavy hair, somewhat dark and glossy, floating on his shoulders, parted in

the middle, according to Nazarene custom; having a smooth, serene forehead, a face without wrinkle or speck — which a moderate degree of color renders at-

tractive — a faultless nose and mouth, a copious and auburn beard, like his hair in color, not long but forked; with clear and animated eyes. [He is] terrible in reproof, placid and lovable in his admonitions, genial without

loss of gravity, who was never seen to smile but often to weep. He is distinguished⁴ in stature, having hands and limbs which it is a delight to look upon, sedate in speech, peculiarly modest, beautiful among the sons of men.⁵ Farewell.

³ Prophet of Truth, *or* of the Truth. This term occurs in the Clementine Homilies 2, 5, 6, 9; 3, 11, as also the term True Prophet, 1, 19, 21; 3, 11.

⁴ All copies save this read "erect." See Biblical Repository, 2, p. 375, note 13.

⁵ Ps. 45, 2.

NOTE E.

INTERPOLATIONS OF JOSEPHUS.

§ 1. *Concerning Christ.*

THERE are three passages in Josephus which have been regarded as interpolated, namely, *Antiq.* 18, 3, 3; 18, 5, 2, 20, 9, 1. One of these, a passage concerning Jesus, is probably a fraud by some Christian. Whether the same can be said of the other two is doubtful. The passage concerning Jesus stands between narratives of two events which Josephus classes together as calamities.

“But Pilate undertook to bring a current of water to Jerusalem, and did it with the sacred money. . . . Myriads of the people got together, and made a clamor against him. . . . He bid the Jews himself go away; but they, boldly casting reproaches upon him, he gave the soldiers that signal which had been beforehand agreed on; who laid upon them much greater blows than Pilate had commanded them. . . . And thus an end was put to this sedition.

“[Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was [the] Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day; as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.]

“About the same time also another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder, and certain shameful practices happened about the temple of Isis that was at Rome.”¹

¹ *Antiq.* 18, 3, 2-4; *Whiston's trans.* This other calamity of which Josephus treats occurred in A. D. 19 at Rome (see *Judaism*, p. 188) about eleven years before Jesus entered on his ministry.

§ 2. *Concerning John the Baptist.*

The passage in the works of Josephus concerning John the Baptist is probably due to some disciple of John, or to some adherent of the popular party, rather than to any Christian. Even if correct, it does not, at first sight, accord with the Gospel narrative,² nor does it refer in any way to Christ or Christianity. Whether it be an intentional interpolation or a marginal comment innocently copied into the text may admit question.

"Aretas, the king of Arabia Petraea, and Herod had a quarrel. . . . Herod the tetrarch had married the daughter of Aretas. . . . However, he fell in love with Herodias. . . . Aretas made this the first occasion of his enmity between him and Herod, who had also some quarrel with him about their limits at the country of Gemalitis. So they raised armies on both sides. . . . All Herod's army was destroyed. . . . Herod wrote about these affairs to Tiberius, who being very angry at the attempt made by Aretas, wrote to Vitellius to make war upon him, and either to take him alive, and bring him to him in bonds, or to kill him, and send him his head [?]: This was the charge [?] that Tiberius gave to the president of Syria.³

² According to Matthew (14, 3) and Mark (6, 17) the cause of John's imprisonment was his statement that Herod ought not to marry his brother's wife. According to Luke (3, 19, 20) it was for this and other causes. That John, who spoke with equal boldness of prince and people, should be arrested by Herod is comprehensible enough. If, however, Herod, as Mark tells us (6, 20) "feared John . . . and did many things as he told him and listened to him readily," Herod must for a time have striven to gain John over to his side, that he might use his influence with the people. Failing in this, the request by a daughter of Herodias, for the head of John, as also the king's previous oath, may have been preconcerted by himself to lessen the odium of what he intended doing, or by his wife and the aristocracy as a means of pushing him to a decision at which he hesitated.

The date of John's death must have been in A. D. 31, while the aristocracy at Rome (see *Judaism*, pp. 522-531) were preparing for the rebellion, which broke out in October. In the spring of A. D. 32, when this rebellion had been suppressed, Pilate and Herod (Luke 23, 12) were reconciled, which not improbably means that Herod had previously sympathized with the aristocracy and Pilate with Tiberius, from whom he held his office.

³ Josephus repeatedly falsifies history with the object of favoring the Roman and Jewish aristocracy. The above is doubtless one of his fictions. See remarks near the close of the section.

"[Now, some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John, that was called the *Baptist*, for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as regarded justice towards one another, and practical recognition towards God, and so to come to baptism; for that the washing [with water] would be acceptable to him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away, [or the remission] of some sins [only,] but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now when [many] others came in crowds about him, for they were greatly moved [or pleased] by hearing his words, Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise rebellion, (for they seemed ready to do anything he should advise,) thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Macherus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. Now the Jews had an opinion, that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment on Herod, and a mark of God's displeasure to him.]

"So Vitellius prepared to make war with Aretas, having with him two legions of armed men. . . . Leading his army through Judea, the principal men met him, and desired that he would not thus march through their land: for that the laws of their country would not permit them to overlook those images which were brought into it. . . . Whereupon he ordered the army to march along the great plain, while he himself, with Herod the tetrarch, and his friends, went up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice to God, an ancient festival of the Jews being then just approaching; and when he had been there, and been honorably entertained by the multitude of the Jews, he made a stay there for three days, within which time he deprived Jonathan of the high-priesthood, and gave it to his brother Theophilus. But when, on the fourth day, letters came to him, which informed him of the death of Tiberius, he obliged the multitude to take an oath of fidelity to Caius; he also recalled his army, and made them every one go home, and take their winter-quarters there, since, upon the devolution of the empire upon Caius, he had not the like authority of making the war which he had before." ⁴

⁴ *Josephus, Antiq. 18, 5, 1-3; Whiston's trans. altered.* The chronology of the passage is somewhat as follows: Herod's substitution of

In the foregoing an omission of the passage concerning John would cause no break in the connection between what precedes and follows it. Some may think that the connection would thus become even closer.

It is plain, moreover, that Josephus wishes us to regard Tiberius as having espoused Herod's cause, and to understand Vitellius as being very deferential to the aristocracy. We can feel reasonably certain that if Josephus for any cause had wished to commend John, he would not have selected this connection for so doing. John's designation for the aristocracy, "brood of vipers" (*Matt.* 3, 7), and the whole tone of his teaching, were not calculated to inspire reverence for those in high places.

The habitual untruthfulness of Josephus (concerning which see *Judaism*, pp. 553 - 560) renders it a fair question whether the expedition of Vitellius⁶ had the slightest connection with Aretas. Vitellius may before moving have received orders from Tiberius, who felt the approach of death, that he should guard against any rebellion by the Jewish aristocracy on the accession of Caligula. His troops may have been intended to intercept communication between the aristocracy at Jerusalem and senatorial sympathizers on the sea-coast. The need of this will appear from a study of events two years afterwards.⁶

§ 3. Concerning James.

The extant interpolation concerning James may, or may not, have originated in an honest marginal comment copied subsequently through ignorance into the text.

"The king [Agrippa] deprived Joseph of the high-priesthood, and bestowed the succession to that dignity on the son

Herodias for his former wife cannot have been later than A. D. 31, if so late. The advent of Vitellius into Syria cannot have been earlier than A. D. 35, seeing that he was consul in A. D. 34. The death of Tiberius occurred March 16, A. D. 37.

⁶ Vitellius was a member of the popular party, and, equally with other of its prominent men, has been grossly abused and misrepresented by Tacitus. The following, forced probably from that writer by public opinion in provinces more intelligent than Rome, should be well weighed. "In governing the provinces he acted with pristine [a patrician term for commendable] uprightness." — *Tacitus, An.* 6, 32.

⁶ See *Judaism*, pp. 96 - 107.

of Ananus, who was himself called *Ananus*. . . . But this younger Ananus, who, as we have told you already, took the high-priesthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very insolent : he was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are very rigid in judging offenders above all the rest of the Jews, as we have already observed. When, therefore, Ananus was of this disposition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority]. Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road ; so he ASSEMBLED THE SANHEDRIM of Judges.

"[And brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called CHRIST, whose name was JAMES, and some others. And when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned.]

"But as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and such as were most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done ; they also sent to the king, [Agrippa,] desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done was not to be justified : nay, some of them went also to meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from Alexandria, and informed him, that it was not lawful for Ananus to ASSEMBLE A SANHEDRIM without his consent."⁷

The foregoing interpolation may be a correct piece of history which some one has noted in the margin of Josephus. It can have had no theological bearing, and presented therefore no motive for FRAUDULENT insertion.

Besides the above there would seem in Origen's time to have been in some copy, or copies, of Josephus a somewhat different statement concerning James, which, instead of pertaining merely to fact, included opinions.⁸

⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* 20, 9, 1 ; *Whiston's trans.*

⁸ "Josephus . . . says : 'These things befell the Jews in vindication of James called the Just, who was the brother of Jesus called the Christ : forasmuch as they killed him who was a most righteous man.' . . . With how much more reason might he have said that this had happened for the sake of Jesus who was the Christ." — Origen, *cont. Cels.* 1, 47 ; *Opp.* ed. Lommatzsch, 18, p. 87 ; ed. de la Rue, 1, p. 363 A ; *Lardner's trans.*

"Titus destroyed Jerusalem, according, indeed, to Josephus, 'because of James the Just, the brother of Jesus, who is called Christ,' but in

NOTE F.

EDESSENE ARCHIVES OR PSEUDO-THADDEUS.

IN Eusebius is our earliest mention of the above document, which he gives in a Greek translation, with the following prefatory remark :—

"To these epistles¹ . . . are subjoined the following things, in the Syriac language.

"After Jesus had been taken up, Judas, called also Thomas, sent the APOSTLE Thaddeus,² one of the seventy; who, when he came to Edessa, took up his abode with Tobias, son of Tobias. When his arrival was rumored about, and he had begun to be known by the miracles which he had wrought, it was told to Abgarus, that an APOSTLE was sent to him by Jesus, according to his promise. Thaddeus therefore by the

truth because of Jesus Christ the Son of God." — **Origen**, *cont. Cels.* 2, 13; *Opp.* ed. Lommatsch, 18, p. 161; ed. de la Rue, 1, p. 399 D.

"Flavius Josephus, who wrote the Jewish Antiquities in twenty books, being desirous to assign the cause why that people suffered such things, so that even their temple was demolished to the foundation, says that 'those things had happened because of the anger of God against them, for what they had done to James the brother of Jesus called the Christ.'" — **Origen**, *Comment. in Matt.* Tom. 10, 17 (*Opp.* ed. Lommatsch, 3, p. 46; ed. de la Rue, 3, p. 463 C); *Lardner's trans.*

¹ Epistles of Abgarus and Jesus, already given in Note C.

² In the enumeration of the Apostles by Matthew, Mark, and Luke, we find that after mention of James, the son of Alphaeus, **Luke** (6, 15, 16) mentions "Judas, the brother of James"; **Mark** (3, 18) mentions "Thaddeus"; and **Matthew** (10, 3) mentions "Lebbeus, whose surname was Thaddeus." Probably the author of the present document meant that Judas, otherwise called Thaddeus, the apostle, had gone to Edessa. Some one who noticed that in Matthew and Mark there is no mention of any other Judas than the traitor, or some one who used Luke's gospel and found no such name as Thaddeus appended to the brother of James, undertook to remedy the difficulty by making Thaddeus one of the seventy, and a different person from Judas. This may have caused him to be sometimes called an apostle and sometimes one of the seventy.

Eusebius in his introductory remarks, prior to the correspondence of Abgarus with Jesus, calls Thomas "one of the twelve Apostles," and Thaddeus, "in the number of the seventy." He had probably noticed the confusion, and intended his remarks as the suggestion of an explanation.

power of God healed all sorts of maladies, so that all wondered.

“But when Abgarus heard of the great and wonderful works which he did, and how he healed men in the name and by the power of Jesus Christ, he was induced to suspect [ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ γέγονεν] that he was the person about whom Jesus had written to him, saying, “When I am taken up, I will send to thee some one of my disciples, who shall heal thy distemper.” Sending therefore for Tobias, at whose house he was, he said to him: “I hear that a man, endowed with great power, and come from Jerusalem, is at thy house, and that he works many cures in the name of Jesus.” To which Tobias answered, “Yes, sir; there is a stranger with me, who performs many miracles.” Abgarus then said: “Bring him hither to me.” Tobias, coming to Thaddeus, said to him: “The toparch Abgarus has bid me bring thee to him that thou mayest heal his distemper.” Whereupon Thaddeus said: “I go; for I am sent to him by [an impelling] power.”

“The next day, early in the morning, Tobias taking Thaddeus came to Abgarus. As he came in, the nobles being present, there appeared to Abgarus somewhat very extraordinary in the countenance of the APOSTLE Thaddeus, which when Abgarus saw, he did reverence to Thaddeus; which appeared strange to all present, for they did not see that sight which appeared to Abgarus only. He then asked Thaddeus: “Are you indeed the disciple of Jesus the SON OF GOD, who once said to me: I will send to thee some one of my disciples who shall heal thy distemper, and give life to all with thee?” Thaddeus answered: “Forasmuch as thou hast great faith in the Lord Jesus, therefore am I sent unto thee: and if thou shalt increase in faith in him, all the desires of thy heart will be fulfilled according to thy faith.”

“Then Abgarus said to him: “I have so believed in him, that I would go with an army to extirpate the Jews who crucified him, if I were not apprehensive of the Roman power.” Then Thaddeus said: “Our Lord [*and God*]³ Jesus Christ has fulfilled the will of his Father: and, having fulfilled it, he has been taken up to his Father.” Abgarus then said: “I have

³ The words *and God* are omitted by the three manuscripts mentioned in the next note, and are deemed spurious by the editors Valesius and Heinichen, though in following the copy which they had adopted they have kept them in their text.

believed in him and in his Father." And thereupon said Thaddeus: "Therefore I put my hand upon thee in the name of the Lord Jesus." And, upon his so doing, Abgarus was healed of his distemper. And Abgarus wondered, that as it had been reported concerning Jesus, so it had been done by his disciple [*and apostle*]⁴ Thaddeus; insomuch as he had healed him without herbs, or other medicines. Nor did he heal him alone, but also Abdus, son of Abdus, who had the gout. For he came to him, and fell down upon his knees before him, and by the laying on of his hands with prayer he was healed. The same [*apostle*]⁵ healed many other citizens of the same place, and wrought many and great miracles as he preached the word.

"After which Abgarus spoke to this purpose: "Thou Thaddeus doest things by the power of God, and we admire thee. But I beseech thee to inform me about the coming of Jesus, how it was, and of his power, and by what power he did all those things which we have heard of." To which Thaddeus answered: "Now I forbear, though I am sent to preach the word; but to-morrow gather together all the citizens, and then in their hearing I will preach the word, and sow in them the word of life, and will inform them of the coming of Christ, how it was, and concerning his mission, and for what cause he was sent by the Father, and concerning the power of his works, and the mysteries which he spoke in the world, and by what power he did these things, and concerning his new doctrine, and about the meanness and despicableness of his outward appearance,⁶ and how he humbled himself, (and died, and lessened his deity; how many things also he suffered from the Jews, and how he was crucified,)⁷ and descended into the underworld, and rent asunder the inclosure never before rent, and arose, and raised up the dead who had been buried many ages; and how he descended alone, but ascended to his Father with a great multitude; and how he is set down on the right hand of the Father with glory in the heavens; and how he will come again with glory and power to judge the living and the dead."

"Abgarus therefore issued out orders that all the citizens

⁴ The Mazarine, Medicæan, and Fuketian MSS. omit the words in brackets.

⁵ Omitted by the three MSS. mentioned in the preceding note.

⁶ See Ch. III. § 14.

⁷ The parenthesis must include two or more varying texts.

should come together early the next morning, to hear the preaching of Thaddeus. And after that he commanded that gold and silver should be given to him, but he did not receive it, saying: "When we have left what is our own, how should we receive those things which belong to others?"

" 'This was done in the four hundred and thirtieth year.' " ⁸

NOTE G.

CORRESPONDENCE OPENED BY SENECA WITH PAUL.

FOURTEEN letters, professedly of Seneca and Paul, have come down to us, — eight by the former and six by the latter, — which will be found in editions of **Seneca** and of the **Apocrypha**.¹ They were extant before the close of the fourth century, for Jerome alludes to them.² They are part of the

⁸ **Eusebius**, *Ecc. Hist.* **1**, 13; *Lardner's trans. altered*. His translation is in his *Works*, **6**, 598–600. Eusebius says that the above narrative which he gives in Greek is translated from the Syriac. Heinichen's edition gives other *various-readings* than those heretofore cited.

The four hundred and thirtieth Syrian year corresponds with the fifteenth of Tiberius; see note of Valesius on this passage in his edition of Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.*, Appendix, pp. 22, 23, copied in Heinichen's edition, Vol. **1**, pp. 88, 89.

¹ See Seneca, *Opp. Philos.* **4**, pp. 474–479, edit. Lemaire; Fabricius, *Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test.* **1**, pp. 892–904 (where the last letter is misnumbered 13). Jones in his work on the Canon, Vol. **2**, pp. 45–53, gives the text of Fabricius, which differs from that of Lemaire. He accompanies it with an English translation by himself, which has been copied with a few verbal oversights into Hone's *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 84–88. This translation of Jones is, with some alterations, the one adopted above.

² "Lucius Annæus Seneca, . . . whom I would not place in the catalogue of holy men unless prompted by those Epistles, read by most persons, of Paul to Seneca, and Seneca to Paul, in which . . . he says that he wishes he occupied the same place among his countrymen as Paul among Christians." — **Jerome**, *de Vir. Illust.* 12; *Opp.* **2**, col. 849–851; edit. Vallars.

Augustine also remarks: "Seneca, who lived in apostolic times, some of whose letters to the apostle Paul are in circulation, truly says: *He who hates the wicked hates all men.*" — *Epist.* 51 (edit. Benedictin. **1**, 53) *ad Macedonium*.

conflict between Christians and heathens, and were intended as evidence of Seneca's respect for Paul. When heathenism had lost political power, Paul's authority outweighed that of Seneca. A consequence of this has been that in the title of the correspondence, as now extant, Paul's name precedes that of Seneca.

1. *ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL Greeting.* I suppose, Paul, that you have been informed of that conversation, which passed yesterday between me and my Lucilius, concerning hypocrisy and other subjects; for there were some of your disciples in company with us; for when we were retired into the Sallustian gardens, through which they were also passing, and would have gone another way, by our persuasion they joined company with us. I desire you to believe, that we much wish for your conversation. We were much delighted with your book of many Epistles, — which you addressed to some states and chief towns of provinces, — containing wonderful instructions for moral conduct: such sentiments, as I suppose you were not the author of, but only the instrument of conveying, though sometimes both the author and the instrument. For such is the sublimity of those doctrines, and their grandeur, that I suppose the age of a man is scarce sufficient to be instructed and perfected in the knowledge of them. I wish your welfare, my brother. Farewell.

2. *PAUL to SENECA Greeting.* I received your letter yesterday with pleasure; to which I could immediately have written an answer, had the young man been at home, whom I intended to have sent to you; for you know when, and by whom, at what seasons, and to whom, I must deliver everything which I send. I desire, therefore, you would not charge me with negligence, if I wait for a proper person. I reckon myself very happy in having the judgment of so valuable a person, that you are delighted with my Epistles: for you would not be esteemed a censor, a philosopher, or be the tutor of so great a prince, and a master of everything, if you were not sincere. I wish you a lasting prosperity.

3. *ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL Greeting.* I have completed some volumes, and divided them into their proper parts. I am determined to read them to Cæsar, and if any favorable opportunity happens, you also shall be present, when they are read. But if that cannot be, I will appoint and give you notice of a day, when we will together read over the performance. I had determined, if I could with safety, first to have your opinion of it, before I published it to Cæsar, that you might be convinced of my affection to you. Farewell, dearest Paul.

4. *PAUL to SENECA Greeting.* As often as I read your letters I imagine you present with me ; nor indeed do I think any other than that you are always with us. As soon therefore as you come we shall mutually see each other nearer. I wish you all prosperity.

5. *ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL Greeting.* We are very much concerned at your too long absence from us. What is it, or what affairs are they which obstruct your coming? If you fear the anger of Cæsar, because you have abandoned your former religion, and made proselytes also of others, you have this to plead, that your acting thus proceeded not from inconstancy, but judgment. Farewell.

6. *PAUL to SENECA and LUCILIUS Greeting.* Concerning those things, about which ye wrote to me, it is not proper for me to mention anything in writing with pen and ink : the one of which leaves marks, and the other evidently declares things. Especially since I know that there are near you, as well as me, those who will understand my meaning. Deference is to be paid to all men, and so much the more, as they are more likely to take occasions of quarrelling. And if we show a submissive temper we shall overcome effectually in all points, if they be such as can repent of their doings. Farewell.

7. *ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL Greeting.* I profess myself extremely pleased with the reading your letter to the Galatians, Corinthians, and people of Achaia. For the Holy Spirit has in them by you delivered those sentiments which are very lofty, sublime, deserving of all respect, and beyond your own invention. I could wish, therefore, that when you are writing things so extraordinary, there might not be wanting an elegance of speech agreeable to their majesty. And I must own, my brother, — that I may not at once dishonestly conceal anything from you, and be unfaithful to my own conscience, — that the emperor is extremely pleased with the sentiments of your Epistles. For when he heard the beginning of them read, he declared, That he was surprised to find such notions in a person who had not had a regular education. To which I replied, That the gods sometimes speak by the ‘mouth of babes’ [Ps. 8, 2 ; Matt. 11, 25], and gave him an instance of this in a rustic, named Vatienus, who, when he was in the country of Reate, had two men appear to him, called Castor and Pollux, and received a revelation from the gods. Farewell.

8. *PAUL to SENECA Greeting.* Although I know the emperor is both an admirer and favorer of our matters, yet give me leave to advise you against your suffering any injury [by showing any favor to us]. I think indeed you ventured upon a very dangerous attempt, when you would

declare [to the emperor] that which is so very contrary to his religion, and way of worship; seeing he is a worshipper of the heathen gods. I know not what you had particularly in view, when you told him of this; but I suppose you did it out of a too great respect for me. But I desire that for the future you would not do so; for you had need be careful, lest by showing your affection to me, you should offend your master: His anger indeed will do us no harm, if he continue a heathen; nor will his not being angry be of any service to us: And if the empress act worthy of her character, she will not be angry; but if she act as a woman, she will be affronted. Farewell.

9. ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL *Greeting*. I know that you are less disturbed on your account by my letter, acquainting you that I had given the emperor your Epistles, than by the condition of things which so powerfully diverts men's minds from good manners and practices, [as to occasion] that I at present should not be esteemed because among many documents I deem this [of yours] the most noteworthy. Let us, therefore, begin afresh; and if anything heretofore has been imprudently acted, do you forgive. I have sent you a book *de copia verborum*. Farewell, dearest Paul.

10. PAUL to SENECA *Greeting*. As often as I write to you, and place my name before yours, I do a thing both disagreeable to myself and contrary to our religion; for I ought, as I have often declared, to become all things to all men, and to have that regard to your quality, which the Roman law has honored all senators with; namely, to put my name last in the [inscription of the] Epistle, that I may not at length with uneasiness and shame be obliged to do that which it was always my inclination to do. Farewell, most respected master. Dated the fifth of the calends of July, in the fourth consulship of Nero and Messala [A. D. 58].

11.³ ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL *Greeting*. All happiness to you, my dearest Paul. If a person so great, so every way agreeable as you are, become not only a common, but most intimate friend to me, how happy will be the case of Seneca! You, therefore, who are so eminent, and so far exalted above all, even the greatest, do not think yourself unfit to be first named in the inscription of an Epistle; lest I should suspect you intend not so much to try me as to banter me; for you know yourself to be a Roman citizen. For I could wish to hold among my people the position which you hold among yours. Farewell, dearest Paul. Dated the tenth of the calends of April, in the consulship of Aprianus [Apronianus] and Capito [A. D. 59].

³ No. 12 in Le Maire.

12.⁴ ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL *Greeting*. All happiness to you, my dearest Paul. Do you think that I am not saddened and grieved at the punishments inflicted on your innocent [sect?] and that all the people should suppose you [Christians] so criminal, and imagine all the misfortunes befalling the city, to be caused by you? But let us bear the charge with a patient temper, appealing [for our innocence] to the court [above], which is the only one our hard fortune will allow us to address, till at length our misfortunes shall end in unalterable happiness. Former ages have produced [tyrants] Alexander the son of Philip, and Dionysius; ours also has produced Caius Cæsar; whose inclinations were their only laws. As to the frequent burnings of the city of Rome, the cause is manifest; and if a person in my mean circumstances might be allowed to speak, and one might declare these dark things without danger, every one should see the whole of the matter. The Christians and Jews are indeed commonly punished for the crime of burning the city; but that impious miscreant, who delights in murders and butcheries, and disguises his villanies with lies, is appointed to, or reserved till, his proper time; and as the life of every excellent person is now sacrificed instead of that one person [who is the author of the mischief], so this one shall be sacrificed for many, and he shall be devoted to be burnt with fire instead of all. One hundred and thirty-two houses and four whole squares [or islands] were burnt down in six days: the seventh put an end to the burning. I wish you all happiness. Dated fifth of the calends of April, in the consulship of Frigius [Frugi] and Bassus [A. D. 64].⁵

13. ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL *Greeting*. All happiness to you, my dearest Paul. You have written many volumes in an allegorical and mystical style, and, therefore, such mighty matters and business, being committed to you, require not to be set off with any rhetorical flourishes of speech, but only with some proper elegance. I remember you often say, that many by affecting such a style do injury to their subjects, and lose the force of the matters they treat of. But in this I desire you to regard me, namely, to have respect to true Latin, and to choose just words, that so you may the better

⁴ No. 11 in Le Maire.

⁵ In Le Maire the Consuls mentioned at the end of Letter 11, and also of Letter 12, are Apronius and Capito.

manage the noble trust, which is reposed in you. Farewell. Dated fifth of the nones of July, Leo and Savinus consuls.

14. PAUL to SENECA *Greeting*. Your serious consideration is requited with those discoveries, which the Divine Being has granted but to few. I am thereby assured that I sow the most strong seed in a fertile soil, not anything material, which is subject to corruption, but the durable word of God, which shall increase and bring forth fruit to eternity. That which by your wisdom you have attained to, shall abide without decay forever. Believe that you ought to avoid the superstitions of Jews and Gentiles. The things which you have in some measure arrived to, prudently make known to the emperor, his family, and to faithful friends; and though your sentiments will seem disagreeable, and not be comprehended by them, seeing most of them will not regard your discourses, yet the Word of God, once infused into them, will at length make them become new men, aspiring towards God. Farewell, Seneca, who art most dear to us. Dated on the calends of August, in the consulship of Leo and Savinus.⁶

At a date when some writers maintained the genuineness of these letters, extracts were made from Paul's writings and the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he was supposed to have written, and were placed parallel with similar extracts from Seneca. They will be found in Le Maire's *Seneca, Opp. Philos.* 4, pp. 465-467. The similarity is due to the fact that not only Paul and the Writer to the Hebrews, but Seneca, like his brother Stoics, copied more or less from Judaism.

The two extra letters of Seneca, over and above the number written by Paul, are due probably to the substitution by later writers than the original forger, of one letter for a different one. The later substitutes and the original have been preserved and copied.

⁶ The consuls for A. D. 65 were A. Licinius Nerva Silianus and M. Vestinus Atticus. Those for A. D. 66 were C. Lucius Telesinus and C. Suetonius Paullinus. The forger of the Epistles must have intended to name the consuls for one or the other of these years, since the execution of Paul could not have been placed at any later date. Either some corruption of the text has taken place, or the forger made some blunder.

NOTE H.

LETTER OF MARCUS ANTONINUS.

DURING a war waged by Marcus Antoninus in Germany (A. D. 174) he and his army were almost famished with thirst, being cut off doubtless from water by their enemies. An opportune shower relieved them. The Antonine-column attributes this to Jupiter Pluvius. Christians attributed it to the prayers of a Christian legion; some Heathens to an Egyptian Astrologer named Arnuphis, others to a Chaldean named Julian.¹

Christians invented a letter, professedly by the emperor, indorsing their account. This letter must have existed by the beginning of the third century, for Tertullian alludes to it.² A copy of it has come down to us, appended by some scribe to Justin's first *Apology*. In *Maran's edition* of Justin, it will be found on pp. 85 – 87, and in *Otto's edition*, Vol. 1, pp. 276 – 280. Lardner's translation, the one here given, will be found in his *Works*, Vol. 7, pp. 184, 185. He accompanies it with various citations and arguments from different writers. His heading of the letter includes the titles "Augustus" and "high-priest," omitted by Maran's text and Otto's.

The Emperor Caesar, MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS [Augustus], Germanicus, Parthicus, Sarmaticus [high-priest], to the PEOPLE of Rome, and to the Sacred Senate, *Greeting*.

I gave you an account of the greatness of the enterprise which I had undertaken, and what great difficulties came upon me in Germany; how I was surrounded and besieged in the midst of it, and afflicted with heat and weariness: at which time I was overtaken at Carnutum by seventy-four regiments, who were not more than nine miles off from us. Now when the enemy was come very near us, our spies gave us notice of it: and Pompeianus, my general, informed me also

¹ Dio Cass. 71, 8; Suidas, *Lex.*, articles *Arnuphis* and *Julian*.

² In his *Apology* (c. 5) Tertullian refers to the letter of Marcus Antoninus as attesting that the shower was, *perhaps*, obtained by the prayers of Christian soldiers.

of what I knew before. In our army we had only the first, the tenth, the double, and the Fretensian legions, to contend with an innumerable company of barbarians. When I had computed my own numbers with those of the enemy, I addressed our gods in prayer; but not being regarded by them, and considering the distress we were in, I called for those whom we call Christians; and upon examination I found that they were a great multitude, at which I was much displeased, though I should not have been so; for afterwards I understood how powerful they are. For which reason they began, not by preparing their darts, or other weapons, or their trumpets, inasmuch as such things are disagreeable to them on account of God, whom they bear in their consciences: for it is reasonable to believe that they, whom we call atheists, have God within them for a bulwark. As soon, therefore, as they had cast themselves down upon the ground, they prayed, not for me only, but also for the whole army, for relief under our great thirst and hunger. For it was the fifth day we had no water, because there was none in that place. For we were in the midst of Germany, surrounded by their mountains. But as soon as they had cast themselves upon the ground and prayed to a God, who was unknown to me, water came down from heaven immediately. Upon us it was very cool, but upon our enemies it was fierce hail. And immediately after their prayers we found God to be present with us, as one that is impregnable and invincible.

Beginning here, therefore, let us permit these men to be Christians, lest they should pray for the like weapons against us and obtain them. And I declare that no man who is a Christian is to be called in question as such. And if any man accuse a Christian, because he is a Christian, I declare that the Christian may appear openly; and that if he confesseth himself to be so, but sheweth that he is accused of no other crime but that he is a Christian, let his accuser be burnt alive. And as to him that confesseth himself to be a Christian, and gives full evidence of the same, let not the governor of the province oblige him to renounce his religion, nor deprive him of his liberty. I will that this be confirmed by the decree of the senate. And I command that this my edict be set up in Trajan's forum, that it may be read by all. Vitrusius Pollio, præfect of the city, will take care that it be sent into the provinces; nor is any one who desires to have it and make use of it, to be hindered from taking a copy of this our edict which is publicly set up by me. Farewell.

NOTE I.

ASCENSION OF ISAIAH.

A WORK, or collection of works, entitled ASCENSION OF ISAIAH, originally written in Greek,—probably in Egypt,—and known perhaps to Origen,¹ has come down to us in an Æthiopic version. Laurence first translated it into English. Dillmann's edition, forwarded by the kindness of a friend, has reached me too late to make due use of it. In the "Ascension" some views must be peculiarities of an individual, or at most of a small class. The work or compilation is too long for transcription here, but the subjoined outline will give a general idea of its contents.

Ch. 1, 1–3, 11. Introductory statement.	} <i>These constituted perhaps one work.</i>
3, 12–4, 22. Causes of Isaiah's seizure. ²	
5, 1–16. Isaiah's death.	

¹ "And Isaiah is recorded to have been sawed by The People. But if any one pays no attention to this record on account of its being contained in the secret [or apocryphal] Isaiah, let him believe what is written, as follows, in the Epistle to the Hebrews."—**Origen**, *Comment. in Matt.* 10, 18, *Opp.* 3, 465 B, edit. de la Rue; 3, 49, Lom.

² "Then Manasseh sent and seized Isaiah. For Berial was highly indignant with Isaiah, on account of the vision and the manifestation, which manifested Samael, and because by him was revealed the coming of the Beloved from the seventh heaven, his change, descent, and form, when he shall be changed into the form of man, his rejection, and the torments with which the children of Israel shall torment him, as also the coming and doctrine of his twelve Disciples, his suspension on a tree the day before the sabbath, his suspension in company with men the workers of iniquity, and his burial. 'Moreover,' said Isaiah, 'the twelve,' who shall be with him, shall be scandalized at what shall happen to him; and watchmen shall be appointed to guard his sepulchre. There shall likewise be a descent of the Angel of the Christian Church, which in the latter days will exist in heaven; and of the angel of the Holy Spirit, and of Michael the Archangel, to open his sepulchre on the third day, when the Beloved shall go forth sitting on the shoulders of the Seraphim, and shall send his twelve disciples, to teach all the [?] people and all nations his resurrection from the dead, so that those who believe in his crucifixion shall be saved; and finally his assumption shall be into the seventh heaven from whence he came. Many also, who shall believe in him, shall speak by the Holy Spirit. And frequent signs and wonders shall take place in those days. But afterwards upon the subject of his second advent his disciples shall forsake the doctrine of the twelve Apos-

THE VISION WHICH ISAIAH SAW.

6, 1-17. Circumstances under which it took place.

7, 1-10, 6. He narrates his ascent to the seventh heaven.

10, 7-11, 40. Also what he heard and saw concerning Christ's mission.³

In the last two headings are items which illustrate common Christian opinions, while others illustrate only eccentricities of the author, or of a small class to which he belonged.

Christians generally regarded the heathen deities, or demons, as the powers of the air, who had control of mankind, and whose spirit was that of contention.⁴

The author personifies without plainly deifying the spirit, whom with the pre-existent Jesus he depicts as joint worshippers of God.⁵ He terms Jesus "the Beloved," "the Lord." Once we find "thy lord [*God*] the lord Christ,"⁶ but the bracketed word is suspicious because absent from parallel expressions (9, 37, 39, 40 ; 10, 7) and nowhere else applied to Jesus.

tles, their beloved and pure faith ; while much contention shall take place respecting his coming and the proximity of his approach. In those days there shall be many attached to office, destitute of wisdom ; multitudes of iniquitous elders and pastors injurious to their flocks, and addicted to rapine ; nor shall the holy pastors themselves diligently discharge their duty. Many likewise shall barter the honorable clothing of the saints for the garment of him, who delights in gold. Abundant shall be the respecters of persons in those days, and lovers of this world's honor.' — **Ascension of Isaiah, 3, 12-25.**

³ "On account of these visions and prophecies, Samael Satan sawed asunder, by Manasseh, Isaiah the son of Amos, the prophet. And such were the things which Hezekiah delivered to Manasseh in the twenty-sixth year of his reign ; Who nevertheless forgot them, . . . abandoning himself to the service of Satan." — **11, 41-43.**

⁴ "We then ascended into the firmament, I and he, where I beheld Samael and his powers. Great slaughter was perpetrated by him, and diabolical deeds, while each contended one against another. . . . I said to the angel, 'What is this contention ?' He answered : 'Thus has it been from the foundation of the world, and this slaughter will continue, until he, whom thou shalt behold, shall come and put an end to it.' " — **7, 9-12.**

⁵ "I saw that my Lord worshipped and the angel of the Holy Spirit, and that both of them together glorified God." — **9, 40.**

⁶ 9, 5. Dillmann, for a reason entirely different from the above, deems "thy lord" the only genuine part of the quotation. Here and in cc. 2, 2 ; 9, 39, 40 ; 11, 1, 10, the word God is in his translation followed by O. M. If this imply that the Æthiopic word so translated designates the Supreme Deity, that word must here be spurious. Isaiah was unable (9, 37 ; 11, 32) to behold the Supreme Being.

He represents Jesus, in accordance with directions from his Father,⁷ as descending from the seventh through the six lower heavens, recognized by the inhabitants of the sixth, but altering his form in each of the five lower ones, so as not to be recognized by their inhabitants. - He represents him as born without the knowledge of his mother,⁸ and subsequently gives in a condensed shape some of his history.⁹

⁷ "For the Lord shall descend into the world in the latter days, and after his descent shall be called Christ. He shall take your form, be reputed flesh, and shall be man. Then shall the God of the world be revealed by his Son. Yet will they lay their hands upon him, and suspend him on a tree, not knowing who he is. In like manner, also, shall his descent, as thou wilt perceive, be concealed from the heavens, through which he shall pass altogether unknown. But after he has escaped from the angel of death, on the third day he shall rise again, and continue in the world five hundred and forty-five days. And many also of the saints shall ascend with him, whose spirits shall not receive their clothing, until the Lord Christ shall ascend himself, and with him shall they ascend." Then, therefore, shall they assume their clothing, and thrones, and crowns, when he shall have ascended into the seventh heaven." — **9**, 13-18. Compare directions, **10**, 7-15, and the compliance with them, **10**, 19-31; **11**, 19-32.

Irenæus (*Cont. Hæres.* **1**, 3, 2 and **1**, 30, 14) mentions some Gnostics who held that Jesus remained on earth after his resurrection eighteen months, which, counting the year at three hundred sixty-five days, and the six months at thirty days each, would make five hundred forty-five. The author of the Ascension, though not a Gnostic, held some Gnostic views. In this case, however, I suspect that the teaching of Gnostic leaders may have been misunderstood by their less attentive followers, or by their Catholic opponents. The Valentinians held (*Irenæus* **5**, 31, 2) "that the Lower Regions, *Inferos*, are this world of ours." If they held with some moderns, that the ministry of Jesus lasted eighteen months, they may have said that after his descent to this, our underworld, he taught during a year and a half.

⁸ "I beheld . . . a woman by name Mary, . . . betrothed to a man by name Joseph. . . . I saw that . . . after she was betrothed, she was found pregnant. . . . After, however, two full months . . . while Mary was attentively gazing on the ground, she suddenly perceived with astonishment a small infant lying before her. . . . The Lord was come to his inheritance. . . . Many affirmed that she did not bring forth at all, . . . all knew that he was, but knew not whence he was. Then they took him and came to Nazareth of Galilee." — **11**, 2-15. Compare in Norton's *Genuineness* (**3**, 167) the Valentinian view that the Æon Savior "passed through Mary . . . without receiving anything from her substance."

⁹ "When, however, he was grown up, I saw that he performed great signs and wonders in the land of Israel and Jerusalem; that foreigners hated him and raised up the children of Israel against him, not knowing who he was; that they delivered him to the king, and crucified him; and that he descended to the angel of death. In Jerusalem I beheld him hanging on a tree; and after the third day rising again, and remaining

If cc. 6–11 be a distinct document its object was to develop what preceded. Dillmann has translated the work into Latin.¹⁰ He thinks (*Proleg.* § 4) that he finds in it three documents, namely ; a Jewish one, cc. 2, 1–3, 12 ; 5, 2–14 ; a Christian one, cc. 6, 1–11, 1, 23–40, to which, he thinks, another Christian prefixed ch. 1 (except verse 3) and added 11, 42, 43.

NOTE J.

SIBYLLINE ORACLES.

MENTION has been made in a former work¹ of two acrostics. by Christian writers, one complete and the other imperfect, which remain to us in the Sibylline Oracles. Whether they were written with controversial intent may be a question. The finished one treats of the future Judgment. The unfinished one has more to do, though not very plainly, with Christ's life on earth, and was the better calculated of the two for controversy with heathens.

Three pieces which deal more plainly with Christ's life on earth are here subjoined, as also a fourth which does so in a slight degree. Any argument from them implies that to no one save Jesus were they applicable. Their applicability to him, when not conceded, must have been based on Pseudo-Heathen records.

No. 1.

Then to men shall a son of the Great God come
 In the flesh, being likened to mortals on earth, 325
 [His name] has four vowels ; but its consonants
 I announce as two ; and will tell the whole number ;
 Eight units, and as many tens,

on earth for a certain period. Then the angel, who was conducting me, said : ' Understand, Isaiah.' When immediately I saw him send forth his twelve Disciples, and ascend from the world." — 11, 18–22.

¹⁰ *Ascensio Isaiae*, Æthiop. et Lat. cum *Proleg.* *Adnotat.* [etc.], edita ab A. Dillmann, Lips. 1877. Its author had access to two manuscripts besides the one used by Laurence. There is in the *Lutheran Quarterly* (8, 518–535) an English translation of this work by G. H. Schodde.

¹ See *Judaism*, p. 444.

And eight hundreds to the incredulous
 His name will exhibit ;² but apprehend thou mentally 330
 The Christ of the Immortal God, Son of the Highest.

He will fulfil the law of God, not destroy it ;
 Furnishing an antitype³ copy, and will teach all things [needful].
 To him priests shall bear an offering of gold,
 Myrrh and frankincense ; for all these things will he [?] perform. 335
 But when a certain voice in the desert
 Shall come proclaiming to mortals, and shall cry out to all : —
 "Let us make straight paths, and throw away
 Wickedness from the heart, and let every mortal body
 Be enlightened with water, that being born from above, 340
 They may no longer transgress what is just,"
 (But a barbarous mind,⁴ persuaded by dancing,
 Cutting off [his head] shall give it as a reward.) Then a sign to
 mortals
 Shall suddenly take place, when guarded there shall come
 From the land of Egypt a beautiful stone, but against this 345
 The Hebrew people shall stumble ; but the Gentiles shall assemble

2 — I	10		
H	8	8 Units =	8
Σ	200	8 Tens	80
O	70	8 Hundreds	800
T	400		—
Σ	200		888
	888		

Perhaps repetition of the number "eight" was connected in the writer's mind with an idea of some secret signification belonging to it. Justin (*Dial.* 24, 41) and Barnabas (*Epist.* 15) term Sunday the eighth day. The former says : "I can show you, gentlemen, . . . that the Eighth Day had a mystery, proclaimed through these [before-mentioned circumstances] by God, superior to [that of] the Seventh." — **Justin Martyr**, *Dial.* 24. Compare 41.

In Egypt, where Greeks, by attention to astronomy, had detected, as was supposed, an eighth sphere or heaven — that of the fixed stars — far above and beyond the one in which the planet Saturn was supposed to move, the Valentinian Gnostics selected this eighth sphere as the dwelling-place of the Supreme Being who had sent Christ. Compare *Judaism*, p. 334.

³ On the meaning of antitype compare (*Judaism*, p. 349) the antitheses of Irenæus. After an embittered war between Jews and Romans an idea was advanced by some Christians that the events of the Old Testament were antithetically repeated in the New. Perhaps the idea may be intended above.

⁴ Compare Note E, footnote 4.

Under his lead ; for the God who rules from on high,
Through him they shall know, and the straight path of universal
light.

For he will show eternal life to mortals,
To the chosen, but inflict fire eternally on the lawless. 350
And then he will heal the sick, also the blameworthy,
[Of their sins?] all who put trust in him.

The blind shall see, the lame shall walk,
The deaf shall listen, the dumb shall talk ;
He shall eject demons ; the dead shall rise ; 355
He shall walk the waves and in a desert place
From five loaves and a marine fish
Shall satiate five thousand, and the remnants of these
Shall fill twelve baskets for [the *Sacred Virgin*].⁵

And then Israel being drunk shall not perceive 360
Nor hear, being burdened with dull ears.

*But when anger of the Highest shall visit the Hebrews
In its rage, and shall take away their faith,⁶
Because they destroyed the Heavenly Son of God.*

And then blows and vile spittle 365
Shall Israel with polluted lips inflict on him.
For food gall, and for drink undiluted vinegar
They shall godlessly give him, impelled by wicked frenzy
In their breast and heart, but not seeing with their eyes —
Blinder than moles, more frightful than reptiles 370
Poisonous serpents — fettered by heavy sleep.

But when he shall spread out his hands and embrace all
things,

And shall bear a crown of thorns, and his side shall
They pierce with spears (wherefore during three hours,
Dark monstrous night shall come in mid-day), 375
Then indeed the temple of Solomon to mortals
Shall give a great sign,^{6a} when He shall enter
The underworld, announcing resurrection to the dead.

⁵ The corresponding line, 8, 278, for "Sacred Virgin," reads "Hope of the Peoples." Lactantius quotes it, "Hope of the Multitude."

⁶ This may mean, destroy their worship by destruction of their temple. The passage breaks the connection. Were line 364 amended thus, "So that they SHALL destroy the Heavenly Son of God," part of the difficulty would be removed.

^{6a} Its rent veil indicating (*Origen, Ser. Com. in Matt.* § 138; *Opp.* 3, 927 A) a veil removed from the vision of believers.

But when he shall come in three days to light again,
 And shall show mortals his sleep,⁷ and teach all things, 380
 Ascending in the clouds he shall journey to heaven,
 Leaving to the world the gospel dispensation.
 In his name a new shoot shall sprout
 From the Gentiles, guided by God's law.

After these things there shall be Apostle⁸ guides, 385
 And then shall be a cessation of prophets.

Thenceforward Hebrews shall reap an evil harvest.
 And much gold and silver shall the Roman king
 Plunder. And afterwards other kings
 Shall continually arise, as former ones perish, 390
 And shall afflict mortals. But to those men shall be great
 Destruction, when they shall rule with haughty injustice.
 But when the temple of Solomon on the mighty earth
 Shall fall, cast down by men of barbarous speech,
 Brazen-breastplated, and Hebrews be expelled the land 395
 Wanderers [and] slaughtered, and shall mix much darnel
 With their wheat, noxious sedition shall be among all
 Mankind; cities, mutually insulted,
 Shall bewail (since they performed an evil act),
 Receiving the great God's anger in their bosom. 400

Sibylline Oracles, 1, 324 – 400.

No. 2.

I heartily sing the Immortal's great and famous Son
 To whom the Highest Parent granted assumption of the
 throne

When not yet born, since a second time in flesh
 Was he born, being washed by the pouring of the river
 Jordan, which is borne along in a blue course; 5
 Who, escaping the fire,⁹ shall first see the sweet
 Spirit¹⁰ coming on [him] with the white wings of a dove.
 There shall sprout a pure shoot; the fountains shall bubble up;

⁷ The meaning probably is, "shall narrate to mortals the events of his three days below." There is, however, a different reading: "shall show mortals a type."

⁸ The Greek word *στόλοι* is perhaps an abbreviation for *Ἀπόστολοι*. Otherwise the meaning must be "multitudinous guides," though the expression would be an unusual one.

⁹ An allusion possibly to the idea (Justin, *Dial.* 88) that the Jordan took fire at the baptism of Jesus. Another reading gives a different sense.

¹⁰ For *πνεύματι γινόμενον* read *πνεῦμ' ἐπιγινόμενον*.

He shall show men the ways, shall show the paths
 To heaven ; shall teach all in wise parables ; 10
 Shall lead to rectitude and persuade a contrary people,
 Boasting a praiseworthy descent from his Heavenly Father.
 He shall walk the waves, free men from diseases,
 Raise the dead, drive off multitudinous ailments,
 From one *πίσης* roll of bread men shall be satiated. 15
Sibylline Oracles, 6, 1-15.

The remaining thirteen lines of Book 6 are by a later writer. Some of them speak in the past, not in the future tense.¹¹

No. 3.

Not in glory, but as mortal [about] to be judged¹² he will
 come,
 Pitiable, dishonored, formless,¹³ that he may give hope to the
 pitiable.
 Also [fair] form to perishable flesh and heavenly faith
 To unbelievers he will give ; and [anew] form man,
 (Originally moulded by God's hands) 260
 Whom the serpent misled, that he should stray

¹¹ When the house of David shall produce a plant in whose hand
 The whole world, earth, heaven and sea shall be.
 Lightnings on earth shall be [such] as formerly they saw
 The two who were born from each other's side ;
 It shall be [thus] when the earth shall rejoice in hope of the Son.
 On you alone, Land of Sodom, misery shall lie,
 For senseless, you did not recognize your God,
 Trifling with mortal perceptions, but from the thorn
 Crowning him with a crown, mixed frightful gall
 For insult and *ὦμα* drink, which shall cause you grievous suffer-
 ing.

O wood most blessed on which God was suspended ;
 Earth shall not have you, but you shall see heaven,
 When the fiery eye of God shall dart lightning on the temple.

Sibylline Oracles, 6, 16-28.

¹² It was customary in ancient times for one awaiting his trial to indicate by his apparel and by his unshaved or unwashed countenance that he was in a pitiable condition. This was intended as an appeal to sympathy and compassion. "Cicero . . . changed his attire, and assuming the garb of one accused, went round the forum soliciting the compassion of all whom he met."—**Smith, Dict. of Biog.** 1, p. 713, col. 2, art. Cicero.

¹³ See Ch. III. § 14.

To a deadly fate, and take knowledge of good and evil,
 So that leaving God he should serve mortal customs :
 To him the All-ruler, taking [him] specially as adviser,
 Said in the beginning : " Child, LET US BOTH ¹⁴ make 265
 (Forming from our own image) mortal tribes.
 I now with my hands, then you by teaching shall heal
 Our form, that we may establish a mutual work."
 Mindful therefore, of this purpose, he will come to be judged,
 [*Furnishing an antitype* ¹⁵ *representation of the undefiled virgin* ¹⁶] 271
 Enlightening with water by the hands of the elders.
 Doing all things by a word, healing every disease,
 He shall lay the winds with a word, and calm the sea
 When raging, with his feet, treading it in peace and trust.
 From five loaves and a marine fish 275
 He shall satiate five thousand men in a desert,
 And taking all the surplus fragments,
 Shall fill twelve baskets as a hope for the people.
 He will invite souls of the blessed and love the wretched .
 Who, scoffed at, shall do good for evil, 280
 [While] beaten, scourged, desiring poverty.
 [He] perceiving and seeing and hearing all things,
 Shall look into the interior, and lay it bare for conviction,
 For he is the hearing, understanding and sight of all,
 The Logos creating forms, whom all things obey, 285
 Savior of the dead, healer of all disease.
 He will fall at last into LAW-less and FAITH-less ¹⁷ hands.
 They will give God blows with unholy hands,
 And with polluted lips vile spittle.
 He will give to the blows an utterly undefiled back ; 290
 [For he will give himself to the world undefiled in virginity, ¹⁸]
 And buffeted, will be silent, that no one may recognize
 Who, of whom, he is, whence he came, that he may talk to
 the dead. ¹⁹

¹⁴ See Note M, text prefixed to footnote 17.

¹⁵ See note 3.

¹⁶ That is Eve, who was deemed by many a virgin until her expulsion from Paradise. Compare line 291 and see *Underworld Mission*, Appendix, Note H.

¹⁷ LAW-less means heathen. FAITH-less may mean Jews or heathens.

¹⁸ Literally, "an undefiled virgin."

¹⁹ The meaning seems to be that, if recognized, he would not have been put to death, and could not have fulfilled his mission in the underworld. Compare *Underworld Mission*, 3d edit. p. 79.

He ²⁰ will bear a crown of thorns : for of thorns ²¹
 The eternal crown of chosen saints shall come. 295
 They shall pierce his side with a spear on account of their law,
 Since from reeds, ²² moved by another spirit,
 The soul's inclinations, anger and revenge, are nourished.
 He will spread his hands and measure all the world.
 Giving gall for food and vinegar to drink, 300
 They shall spread this table of inhospitality.

But when all these things mentioned shall be finished,
 Then in him the whole Law is abolished which at first
 Was given to mortal opinions because ²³ of a disobedient people.
 Rent is the veil of the temple, and in mid-day 305
 Shall be dark monstrous night for three hours.
 For, cessation of service to temple and concealed Law,
 Veiled by worldly fantasies, was again manifested
 On the Ruler's descent into the enduring earth.
 He will come to the underworld announcing to all 310
 The consecrated, hope, end of ages and the last day,
 And will abolish death by sleeping till the third day ;
 And then, freed from the departed, will come to light,
 The first to show the chosen a beginning of the resurrection.

[Washed in the waters of an immortal fountain 315
 From their former wickedness, that born again from above
 They may no longer be slaves to immoralities of the world.]

First the Lord is seen by HIS OWN [disciples]
 In the flesh as formerly. On hands and feet he will show
 To HIS OWN, four marks impressed on his members. 320
 The East, the West, the South, the North,
 For so many kingdoms of the world shall fulfil
 The lawless reprehensible deed on our image.

Sibylline Oracles, 8, 256-323.

²⁰ The next half-dozen lines, 299-304, are given in the order of Alexandre.

²¹ The word *ἄκανθος* has a double meaning, indicating thorn and also (according to Liddell and Scott) "a plant much used in works of art, especially Corinthian capitals."

²² The word for spear and reed *κάλαμος* is the same in the original.

²³ Compare Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 43, quoted in *Judaism* on p. 343.

No. 4.

Hail, Zion, much suffering daughter,
 Thy king enters riding on a colt, 325
 Appearing gentle to all, that our yoke,
 Slavish, grievous, burdening our necks he may carry off,
 And end godless laws and galling fetters.
 Know him thy God, the Son of God,
 Praising him and having him in thy heart ; 330
 Love him with thy soul and bear his name,
 Reject those who preceded,²⁴ and wash from his blood.
 For observances and petitions do not propitiate him ;
 Nor, Immortal, does he heed perishable sacrifices,
 But, uttering with thy mind the cure of his holy teaching, 335
 Know this one, and you shall see his Parent.

Sibylline Oracles, 8, 324 – 336.

NOTE K.

HERMES TRISMEGISTUS, MERCURY THRICE GREATEST.

IN the early part of the second century astrological and other works — doubtless of heathen origin — were circulating in the name of Mercury.¹ This probably suggested to some Christian of the less scrupulous sort, that Mercury might be made to teach better things than astrology. In order that his production might seem even more authoritative than prior ones in the name of that god, he ascribed it to **Hermes Trismegistus**, or Mercury, Thrice Greatest, and designates the production as λόγος τέλειος, the “*Perfect Discourse*,” or the “*Final*” *Discourse*,” intending probably to give it position above all other productions of the same personage.

²⁴ The meaning seems to be, reject the Jews and by so doing wash your hands from the crime of putting Jesus to death.

¹ Clement mentions (*Strom.* 6, 35; *Opp.* edit. Potter, p. 757) four books on astrology and two others, one of which contained hymns to the gods, while the second contained a computation of, or rules for, a regal life.

² A passage attributed to **Orpheus** (*Cohort.* 15, cited in *Judaism*, pp. 337–338) makes him say to his son, “I speak truth lest [my ?] former views should rob you of longed-for eternity.” Perhaps in the present case the heading of the *Discourse* meant that the views here given were the latest teachings of Mercury.

In the first half of the fourth century Lactantius prefixes to his quotations from this work an account of Mercury,³ which can hardly have originated earlier than the latter half of the third century. In it Mercury is made to proclaim a Supreme Being devoid of name, also one subordinate and created God, and some other views common among Christians.

"This [Mercury] wrote books, and indeed many of them, pertaining to the knowledge of divine things, in which he asserts the majesty of the Supreme and Sole God, and calls him by the same names as ourselves, 'GOD and FATHER,' and lest any one should ask his name, says that he is *ἀνόνημον*, 'WITHOUT NAME.' . . . His words are these: 'GOD IS ONE, BUT THE ONE DOES NOT NEED A NAME, FOR THE SELF-EXISTENT IS WITHOUT NAME.'" — *Div. Inst.* 1, 6.

"Hermes-[Mercury] . . . who not only said that man had been made in the image of God, but also tried to explain it." — *Div. Inst.* 2, 11.

"Hermes [Mercury] affirms that those who have known God are not only safe from attacks of demons, but are not even subject to fate. He says: 'THE SOLE PROTECTION IS PRACTICAL MONOTHEISM, FOR NEITHER AN EVIL DEMON NOR FATE HAS CONTROL OF THE PRACTICALLY MONOTHEISTIC MAN, FOR GOD FREES THE PRACTICAL MONOTHEIST FROM EVERY EVIL, FOR PRACTICAL MONOTHEISM IS THE ONE AND SOLE GOOD IN MEN.'" — *Div. Inst.* 2, 16.

"Trismegistus, who, I hardly know how, investigated almost all truth, often described the excellence and majesty of the Word." — *Div. Inst.* 4, 9.

"The Father God, . . . since he lacks parents, is justly named by Trismegistus, 'FATHERLESS and MOTHERLESS.'" — *Div. Inst.* 4, 13.

³ **Lactantius**, after devoting five chapters to other matter, says: "Let us now pass to divine testimonies, but first I will bring forward one which is akin to divine, both because of its exceeding age, and because he whom I shall name was transferred from mortals into the category of gods.

"In the writings of Cicero, **C. Cotta**, high-priest, disputing against the Stoics, . . . states that there were five Mercuries, and after enumerating four of them in order, [says] the fifth was that one by whom Argus was killed, and who 'fled on that account into Egypt, and delivered laws and literature (*litteras*) to the Egyptians.' . . .

"He also founded a town which even now is in Greek called Hermopolis; . . . who, although a man, was most ancient and most instructed in every kind of learning, so that [his] knowledge of many things and arts fixed on him the name of Trismegistus." — *Div. Inst.* 1, 6.

"Hermes Trismegistus, . . . who agrees in words as well as substance with us, that is, with the prophets whom we follow, and speaks thus concerning justice: 'O SON, ADORE AND WORSHIP THIS *verbum* TEACHING,' but the sole worship of God is not to be evil. . . . 'THESE [frankincense and spices], AND THINGS SIMILAR TO THESE, ARE NOT APPROPRIATE TO HIM, FOR HE IS FULL OF ALL THINGS WHICH EXIST AND HAS NOT THE SLIGHTEST NEED OF ANY THING; BUT WE ADORE HIM BY GIVING THANKS, FOR HIS SACRIFICE IS SIMPLY BENEDICTION.'" — *Div. Inst.* 6, 25.

"Hermes [Mercury] did not ignore that man was formed by God and in the image of God." — *Div. Inst.* 7, 4.

"I have made clear, as I think, that the soul is not dissoluble. It remains to cite the witnesses by whose authority my arguments may be corroborated. Neither will I call the prophets to testify . . . but those [witnesses] rather to whom it is necessary that the rejecters of true religion *veritatem* should yield credence. Hermes, describing the nature of man, . . . introduces these [remarks]. God 'MADE THE SAME FROM BOTH NATURES, THE MORTAL AND THE IMMORTAL, [INTO] THE ONE NATURE OF MAN, MAKING HIM PARTLY IMMORTAL, PARTLY MORTAL, AND PLACED HIM HALF-WAY BETWEEN A DIVINE IMMORTAL NATURE AND A MORTAL, MUTABLE ONE, THAT, SEEING ALL THINGS [MORTAL AND IMMORTAL], HE MIGHT ADMIRE ALL THINGS.'" — *Div. Inst.* 7, 13.

"In that book which is called the *Perfect* (or *Final*) *Discourse*, after enumeration of the evils concerning which we have spoken, he adds these things: 'BUT WHEN THESE THINGS SHALL THUS TAKE PLACE, O ESCULAPIUS, THEN THE LORD, AND FATHER, AND GOD, AND CREATOR, OF THE FIRST AND ONE [SUBORDINATE] GOD, LOOKING AT THE THINGS WHICH TAKE PLACE — EVEN SUCH [AS OCCUR] BY HIS WILL — OPPOSING TO DISORDER WHAT IS GOOD AND RECALLING WHAT WANDERS, AND PURIFYING WHAT IS WICKED, SOMETIMES DISSOLVING BY MUCH WATER, AND SOMETIMES BURNING OUT BY THE FIERCEST FIRE, AND SOMETIMES CRUSHING OUT BY WARS AND FAMINES, LEADS [BACK AGAIN] TO THE ANCIENT CONDITION AND REPLACES HIS WORLD.'" — *Div. Inst.* 7, 18. Compare *Judaism at Rome*, p. 56.

NOTE L.

ALLEGED UNCANONICAL GOSPELS.

Luke in the beginning of his Gospel (1, 1, 2) mentions that "many have undertaken to arrange a narrative of the events accomplished among us, conformably to the accounts given us by those who were eye-witnesses from the beginning, and [who] have become ministers of the religion." No trace remains of the narratives to which he refers unless Matthew's Gospel, then extant only in Hebrew, was among those which he had in mind. His form of expression renders probable that some individuals after listening to detached portions of the Master's history had endeavored in writing to connect and arrange them. Probably these imperfect attempts were laid aside by their authors or readers so soon as fuller and more connected narratives appeared.

Some modern writers suppose that various Gospels existed in the second century, from which the four now in use were selected, or out of which they were formed or in opposition to which they were fabricated. This view, in a crude shape, is expressed by Hone and Tischendorf.¹ It is also held

¹ "After the writings contained in the New Testament were selected from the numerous Gospels and Epistles then in existence, what became of the books that were rejected by the compilers?" — **Hone**, *Apoc. N. Test.* p. v. In answer to this, Hone presents his reader a collection of documents classified by him as Gospels and Epistles, not one of which professes to record the MINISTRY of Jesus.

"The definition of Apocryphal Gospels is [Gospels] opposed to Canonical ones; unless you prefer to contend that in the earliest times Canonical Gospels were [created?] in opposition to apocryphal ones. . . . When first the Canonical Gospels by consent of the Church began to be separated from the great number of writings in circulation, it is obvious that yet other and new [writings] which were issued could not aspire to evangelical authority unless they feigned the same valued peculiarity (*virtutem*) with those [canonical ones]. . . .

"Whence it is to be concluded that no Gospels were reckoned apocryphal before the Canon of Sacred Books existed in the ancient church." — **C. Tischendorf**, *De Evang. Apoc. Origine et Usu*, pp. 1, 2.

Tischendorf, after arguing (pp. 3, 4) from Irenæus, Tatian, and Theophilus, writers after the middle of the second century, that "in the opinion of the most numerous and of the principal [Christian] teachers the Gospel Canon *pæne jam constitisset* had now been almost established,"

in several shapes by other writers, especially in Germany, an extract from one of the more thoughtful of whom is sub-joined.² Attention to four meanings of the word Gospel and to some historical facts should precede examination of these uncanonical works.

One meaning of this term is A RECORD OF THE LIFE OF JESUS. A second meaning, common among early Christians, was THE FOUR RECORDS or Gospels in contradistinction from the Epistles. A third meaning is THE INTERPRETATION PUT UPON CHRIST'S TEACHING, or that of his Apostles, by an individual or a sect. Thus the Gospel according to Calvin, or according to Wesley, would be readily understood as meaning the interpretation by those individuals of New Testament teaching. A fourth meaning is, A GOSPEL, OR THE FOUR GOSPELS, AS TRANSLATED OR ANNOTATED BY SOME INDIVIDUAL. Thus "Campbell's Four Gospels" would be readily understood to mean his translation of, and annotations on, the four Gospels. Among early Christians such a work would have been termed Campbell's Gospel, the latter word distinguishing the four collectively from the Epistles.

In the days of Irenæus and of Tatian, probably about A. D. 170, it is obvious that four Gospels only were in common use.

adds (p. 4), "therefore from the time which immediately preceded the middle of the second century until almost the close of the fourth, was the era of Apocryphal Gospels." Compare views of Strauss on p. xiv.

It would — with the exception of our four Gospels — be difficult or impossible to point out in the era mentioned a single document professing of Christian origin, which assumed to narrate the life or ministry of Jesus.

An earlier and common error in Europe paved the way for such views as the foregoing. It appears in the following extract from **Mosheim**: "Not long after the Savior's ascension, various histories of his life and doctrines, full of impositions and fables, were composed by persons, . . . superstitious, simple, and piously fraudulent; and afterwards, various other spurious writings were palmed upon the world, falsely inscribed with the names of the holy Apostles." — *Ecc. Hist.* Century I. Part 2, Ch. 2, § 17, Murdock's trans. 1, p. 73. Mosheim, however, did not suppose that the Gospels and other writings of the New Testament had merely been selected out of this mess without abundant evidence of their authorship.

² "In addition to our canonical Gospels, Christian antiquity was acquainted with several others; and it is in the last degree needful to obtain as accurate a knowledge of these as possible, for the opinion is pretty wide-spread that some of them are older and more original than our canonical Gospels." — **De Wette**, *Introduc. to N. Test.*, p. 87; *Frothingham's trans.*

The effort of Irenæus to explain WHY this precise number existed implies that its existence was well recognized.³ Tatian also made a *Diatessaron*,⁴ a harmony or synopsis of the four.

Somewhat earlier we find two classes of men, intensely unlike each other, called Gnostics. Both classes originated after an embittered war between Jews and Gentiles, and both held that the God of the Jews was not the God of the Christians, but a different being.⁵ Marcion, the leader of one class, adopted, or made special use of, the Gospel of Luke, who was a Gentile and a companion of Paul.⁶ From this he expurgated what he could not, even by forced explanation, fit into his system, but

³ **Irenæus**, after specifying (*cont. Hæres.* 3, 1, 1) Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John as having each written one of the Gospels, adds as follows: "Nor can there be more or fewer Gospels than these. For as there are four regions of the world in which we live, and four cardinal winds, and the Church is spread over all the earth, and the Gospel is the pillar and support of the Church, and the breath of life; in like manner is it fit that it should have four pillars." — *Cont. Hæres.* 3, 11, 8; *Opp.* 1, pp. 467, 468, edit. Stieren, *Norton's trans.* On p. 467 Stieren has erroneously c. 12 for c. 11.

Eusebius (*Ecc. Hist.* 3, 37) mentions Quadratus as engaged in teaching at the same time with the daughters of Philip, and states that the disciples of that age were accustomed "to distribute the writing of the divine Gospels." As Philip was executed in A. D. 52 (see *Judaism*, p. 238) the ministry of his daughters can scarcely be placed later than the close of the first century. Quadratus lived into the first quarter of the second century, for he presented an Apology to Hadrian. Eusebius would not have termed any Gospels DIVINE except the four recognized in his day, and unless his information were inaccurate, these four must in the time of Quadratus have had an established authority.

⁴ "**Tatian** putting together, I know not on what plan, a synopsis and harmony of the evangelists, called this τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων, 'The four collated,' which even yet is in circulation among some." — **Eusebius**, *Ecc. Hist.* 4, 29. In the fifth century Theodoret (*Hæret. Fab.* 1, 20) took away two hundred copies of this *Diatessaron* which he found used and esteemed by churches that he regarded as sound in the faith. His only charge against it is its omission of the genealogies (which perhaps Tatian could not harmonize) and of the descent from David.

⁵ See touching these men *Judaism*, pp. 331–336.

⁶ **Irenæus** speaks (3, 11, 7) of Marcion "as mutilating the Gospel according to Luke." Compare Irenæus 1, 27, 2. **Tertullian** says: "Marcion seems to have selected Luke as the [one] whom he would cut up." *Adv. Marc.* 4, 2. Compare in Norton's *Genuineness*, Vol. 3, Appendix, Note C, his remarks on this Gospel.

Apelles, the disciple of Marcion, seems to have used the same expurgated copy of Luke. The term Gospel of Marcion, or Gospel of Apelles, meant sometimes this expurgated copy, and sometimes, perhaps, the system which they based upon it. Neither of these two individuals doubted the authorship of the four Gospels, but they supposed the evangelists, be-

used from the other Gospels what he thought could be pressed into its support.

The chief division of the other class was the Valentinians, or followers of Valentinus. These used especially, but not exclusively, John's Gospel.⁷ Heracleon, one of them, wrote a commentary on it, the remnants of which will be found collected by Massuet in his edition of Irenæus, pp. 362–376, in which work also an extract from his commentary on Luke will be found on p. 362. Another portion of this class used Mark's Gospel.⁸ Basilides will be subsequently mentioned.

It seems impossible that other records concerning the ministry of Jesus should have been afloat in Gentile communities, and that the Gnostics, instead of drawing from them, should have needed forced interpretation and, in the case of Marcion, mutilation of the records yet in use.

We have the direct testimony of Irenæus that the Heretics, under which title he specifies the Ebionites, Marcionites, Valentinians, and others, used our Gospels.⁹ This testimony comes from one who would have been prompt to point out any tendency of the Heretics to use records other than what he deemed sanctioned. We have, moreover, the statement of Tertullian that the Heretics should not be allowed to use the Christian Scriptures,¹⁰ — a superfluous statement, if the records which they used were from other hands than those recognized by Christians generally.

cause of their Jewish education, to have misunderstood the Master's teaching.

A letter of Origen preserved only in a Latin translation, implies that Marcion and Apelles, even if they made most use of Luke, must have used the remaining three Gospels. "You see . . . with what expurgation Marcion expurgated the Gospels or the Epistles *Apostolorum*, or with what his successor, Apelles, after him [did the same]." — Origen, *Epist. Opp.* 1, p. 6 B, edit. de la Rue.

⁷ "The Valentinians making copious use of that [Gospel] which is according to John." — Irenæus, 3, 11, 7.

⁸ "Those who distinguish Jesus from the Christ, and say that Christ remained without suffering, but that Jesus suffered, preferring the Gospel according to Mark, if they read it with the love of truth, can be corrected." — *Ibid.* This perhaps means that Mark's Gospel admitted less easily than John's of vague and fanciful interpretations.

⁹ "Such is the established authority of the Gospels that the Heretics themselves render testimony to them, and each one of them who goes out [from Christianity] endeavors to confirm his teaching out of them." — Irenæus, *cont. Hæres.* 3, 11, 7. The passage is found only in the Latin translation.

¹⁰ "They (the Heretics) offer the Scriptures, and by this their auda-

We will now endeavor to classify these supposed uncanonical Gospels. Lack of leisure and sight prevent that fuller treatment which I could wish. The general reader will find all that he needs in Norton's *Genuineness*, 3, pp. 214–286; abridged edit. pp. 340–391.

1. RECORDS. Matthew and Luke under other names. Matthew's Gospel, in what was then called Hebrew,¹¹ was used by Hebrew Christians, also called Nazarenes or Ebionites, and hence received the name of "Gospel to the Hebrews," "to the Nazarenes," "to the Ebionites," and also according to Jerome "Gospel of the Apostles," otherwise called, perhaps, "of the Twelve Apostles."¹² Some copies of it had interpolations not extant in Matthew.¹³

Bartholomew is said to have carried this Hebrew Gospel

city at once influence some. . . . We interpose that they are not to be admitted to a dispute from the Scriptures."—*De Præscript. Hæret.* 15; *Opp.* p. 236 C. "The reason for what we propose is obvious; that the Heretics are not to be admitted to enter upon an argument from the Scriptures. . . . Not being Christians, *nullum jus capiunt Christianarum literarum*, they have no legal right to the Christian records."—*De Præscript. Hæret.* 37; *Opp.* 242 D.

¹¹ The Nazarenes "have the Gospel according to Matthew in its fullest shape, in the Hebrew language."—**Epiphanius**, *Hæres.* 29, 9. The Ebionites "also receive the Gospel according to Matthew, for they, as also the followers of Cerinthus, use this Gospel; they call it [the Gospel] according to the Hebrews."—*Hæres.* 30, 3. "Matthew . . . composed the Gospel of Christ in Hebrew letters and words. . . . Further: the Hebrew itself is preserved until this day in the library at Cæsarea."—**Jerome**, *de Vir. Illust.* 3; *Opp.* 2, 833, edit. Vallars. "The Gospel also which is called according to the Hebrews, and which was lately translated by me into the Greek and Latin, and which Origen often used."—*De Vir. Illust.* 2; *Opp.* 2, 831. Cp. Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.* 3, 255 "The Gospel which the Nazarenes and Ebionites use . . . and which is called by many [or most], *a plerisqus*, the authentic [Gospel] of Matthew."—**Jerome**, *Comment. in Matt.* 12, 13; *Opp.* 7, 77.

¹² "The Gospel according to the Hebrews . . . which the Nazarenes yet use—[that, namely] according to the Apostles, or as many think, according to Matthew [in its genuine form?]—which is in the library of Cæsarea."—**Jerome**, *cont. Pelag.* 3; *Opp.* 2, col. 782, edit. Vallars. Compare Hom. 1 on Luke, Origenis *Opp.* 3, 933 B (5, 87). Jerome omits, and the Homilies use, the word "Twelve" before Apostles. If the Apostles while working collectively in Judea used any written Gospel it must have been this, the others being in Greek.

¹³ See ancient quotations from the Gospels in Grabe, *Spicileg.*, 1, pp. 25–31. Those by Clement and Origen (pp. 26–27) must have existed in the second or third century. Those quoted by other writers may in several instances have found their way into it at a later date. The

to India.¹⁴ Cerinthus is said to have made special use of it.¹⁵ Hence the terms (Jerome *Præfat. in Matt.*) "Gospel of Bartholomew," (Epiphanius *Hæres.* 51, 7) "Gospel of Cerinthus." These terms, however, can never have had much currency, and may have been unknown to the first three centuries.

The Gospel of Marcion or of Apelles (see note 6) was an altered copy of Luke.

2. COMMENTARIES AND EXPOSITIONS. Basilides wrote an exposition of the Gospels in twenty-four books,¹⁶ which at a later date seems to have been called his Gospel.¹⁷ The Gospel of Thomas, judged by our only extract from it,¹⁸ may have been some exposition of passages in the Gospels. A Gospel of Truth, attributed to the Valentinians by Irenæus (3, 11, 9, cp. Tertullian, *de Præscript. Hæret.* 49), must have been expository or doctrinal. Nothing historical from it is quoted or controverted by any one.

3. DOCTRINAL WORKS. Serapion early in the third century mentions the Gospel of Peter.¹⁹ The work, obviously not historical, may have been some portion of the Clementines;²⁰ or

Jewish Christians who used Matthew in the original, soon became an unimportant sect. It is hardly possible that they had among them trained copyists equal to those in the Greek book-markets. Some passages from Luke and John (not always closely translated into Hebrew), or marginal paraphrases and comments on the same, seem, with a little other matter, to have been copied into the text of Matthew.

¹⁴ "Pantænus . . . is said to have gone to the Indians; where, it is commonly said, he found the Gospel of Matthew, which before his arrival had been delivered to some in that country, who had the knowledge of Christ: to whom Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, is said to have preached, and to have left with them that writing of Matthew in Hebrew letters, and that it was preserved among them to that time." — Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.* 5, 9, 10; *Lardner's trans.*

¹⁵ Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 30, 14

¹⁶ Agrippa Castor, cited by Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.* 4, 7.

¹⁷ Hom. 1 on Luke, Origenis *Opp.* 3, 933 C (5, 87).

¹⁸ In the *Philosophumena* (5, 7, p. 101, edit. Miller) is an extract at second hand from the Gospel of Thomas. "He who seeks me will find me in children after their seventh year, for there—to become concealed in their fourteenth year—I am manifested."—Cp. Matt. 18, 5. The work is also mentioned in Hom. 1 on Luke, Origenis *Opp.* 3, 933 C, (5, 87).

¹⁹ Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.* 6, 12.

²⁰ In early writers a subject is sometimes presented (see *Judaism*, p. 177) by selecting disputants on either side into whose mouths the arguments of respective schools are put. The author of the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions selects Peter as the person who shall present true views, and Simon Magus as the opponent who is to present

of a similar work. A Gospel of Matthias (cp. Acts 1, 26) is mentioned by Eusebius (*Ecc. Hist.* 3, 25) and by the Homilies on Luke (1, Origen. *Opp.* 3, 933 C). Absence of any appeal to it implies that it was not a history of Jesus. It must have been something doctrinal.

4. GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE EGYPTIANS.²¹ Uncertainty as to whether this belongs under the first or third of the preceding heads, leads me to treat it separately. The citations from it suggest that it was a doctrinal homily (on Matthew 22, 30?) exceptional in that it selects Jesus as speaker. The citations refer to the absence of sex in the next life, and the fact that while marrying and bearing of children continue death also will continue. There may have been some casual reason for the title "Gospel according to the Egyptians." As no such reason, however, is apparent, I think the fol-

false views of the subjects discussed. In another document called the Preaching of Peter it is also obvious that Peter is merely selected as spokesman. Their authors had no thought of passing off these productions as written or uttered by that Apostle. They merely meant, by selecting him as spokesman, to indicate their adherence to a belief in both dispensations — the Jewish and Christian — as having proceeded from the same God. They were prompted to this, perhaps, by the fact that, of the two bodies opposed to this view one, the Marcionites, made great use of Paul's writings, while the other, the Valentinians, used chiefly those of John.

In the latter of these documents Peter is made to argue from the Scriptures of the New Testament (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6, 41) an appeal which would have been deemed needless, or even derogatory to him by one who was trying to palm off the work as his genuine production.

In one portion of the work where the author appeals to Sibylla and Hystaspes — books regarded as prophecies addressed to heathen communities — Paul is introduced (Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 6, 42, 43; *Opp.* p. 761, edit. Potter) as the personage to make this appeal. Probably it would have been deemed out of place in the mouth of Peter.

²¹ In the third century it is mentioned by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 3, 63, 92, 93 (cp. 45, 61) and by the *Philosophumena* 5, 7; p. 98, ed. Miller. Later mentions exist in Hom. 1 on Luke (Orig. *Opp.* 3, 933 B, ed. De la Rue) and Epiphanius. *Hæres.* 62, 2 (*Opp.* 1, 514) who probably confused what the *Philosophumena* ascribes to this Gospel with what its preceding statement ascribes to the Mystics. (Cp. pseudo Clem. Rom. *Epist.* 2, 12; *al.* 5.) The quotation from it by Clement (*Strom.* 3, 92) speaks of a time "When . . . the male with the female shall be neither male nor female" (cp. Matt. 22, 30). This may have been the passage on which the Ophites are said (*Philosophumena*, p. 98) to have based their view of transmutation in the soul or its affections. That the *Philosophumena* should treat this work as the source of but one error accords with its being an almost unknown doctrinal treatise, or a translation either of Matthew or the four Gospels, in some manuscript or manuscripts of which one or two notes or interpolations had attracted attention.

lowing explanation probable. A translation of Matthew,²² if not of the four Gospels, may already have been made into some Egyptian dialect. In one or more manuscripts of this some scribe may have appended as a note, or perhaps interpolated, an extract or extracts from this Homily. On this supposition the term Gospel according to the Egyptians would be natural, and would accord with the fact that Clement of Alexandria who quotes, does not appear to have seen the work.

The foregoing includes, I believe, every uncanonical Gospel mentioned in the first three centuries. So far as concerns Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, or the Homilies on Luke,²³ it includes mentions of later date.

When Christianity gained the upper hand, there was a motive which did not previously exist for fabricating documents in the name of venerated Christians. Yet even then any fabricated histories of Jesus concerned themselves with his earlier years, not with his ministry. The authority of the four Gospels seems to have been so firm as to preclude other accounts concerning this portion of his life.

²² The number of Jews in Egypt gives plausibility to the supposition that Matthew's Gospel may have been translated earlier than the others for some of the non-Greek-speaking communities of Jewish Christians.

²³ In de la Rue's edition of Origen's Works, Vol. 3, p. 932, and in the edition of Lommatszsch, 5, xxvii, xxviii, and in the edition of Jerome by Vallarsius, 7, col. 245-248, is a letter of Jerome, which in the last-mentioned work is addressed to Paula and Eustochium. In all these it is entitled Prologue to Homilies on Luke, there attributed to Origen. In this letter **Jerome** says that a lady named Blæsilla had, at a former date, asked him to issue in the Latin, Origen's "thirty-six [*Vallars.* twenty-five] books on Matthew and five others on Luke and thirty-nine [*Vallars.* thirty-two] on John,"—a request, as he said, beyond his strength and leisure, but, as the friends who now addressed him had asked only for the translation of the Homilies on Luke, he had complied. *Quam tamen idcirco nunc faciam, quia sublimiora non poscit.*

In a preceding portion of the letter he says that the persons whom he addressed had asked him to translate the [thirty-nine ??] Homilies on Luke of "our Adamantius," that is, of Origen. De la Rue and Lommatszsch omit the bracketed number thirty-nine. It is doubtless an interpolation. It contradicts the statement in the same letter (a statement in which all texts agree) attributing to Origen but five Homilies on Luke. The thirty-nine Homilies on Luke however, though perhaps from an Alexandrine writer, were composed in Latin, and apparently between A. D. 325 and A. D. 350. See *Underworld Mission*, Note I. Didymus of Alexandria, mentioned by Jerome (*de Vir. Illust.* 109, *al.* 118, *Opp.* 2, col. 939, ed. Vallars., cp. Smith, *Dict. of Biog.* art. *Didymus*) cannot have written them; for he lived in Jerome's time, half a century later than the author of these homilies, and, moreover, wrote in Greek.

NOTE M.

DATE WHEN JESUS WAS DEIFIED.

In the early part of the third century the deification of Jesus had, at least in some localities, considerable foothold among Gentile Christians, though it was rejected by all Jewish ones, and was treated by many Gentiles as a dangerous innovation.¹

In the third quarter of the second century Justin Martyr, the earliest extant defender of this view, advocated it in his discussion with a Jew, but manifests a feeling of uncertainty touching it,² which he does not on other points. At a yet earlier date — probably about the middle of the century³ — he wrote an *Apology* addressed to a heathen emperor, in which he designates Jesus as the ANGEL and APOSTLE⁴ of the Supreme Being, basing in one case his argument on a use of the former term in the Old Testament.⁵ Throughout this somewhat

¹ See *Judaism*, Ch. XI. notes 56, 57, 58, 60.

² “‘But, O Trypho,’ I said, ‘his being the Christ of God is not annulled even if I am unable to show that he pre-existed as a God, son of the Maker of all things and was born a man.’” — Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 48; *Opp.* 2, 154 C.

³ In the *Apology* (1, 46; *Opp.* 1, 228–230) Justin places the birth of Christ 150 years previously. In his *Dialogue* (12; *Opp.* 2, 400 C) he alludes to the *Apology* as already written. The date of either work has however been much discussed and differently decided by different writers. The war mentioned by the Jew may have been the Jewish one under Hadrian, or that under Antoninus Pius, or may have been a non-Jewish war under the latter, or even under Marcus Antoninus. If the first-mentioned be the one referred to, then we must suppose that Justin wrote out the discussion long after its occurrence. Cicero’s work *de Nat. Deorum* was written thirty years after the discussion which it professes to narrate.

⁴ “Our teacher — who is both son of the FATHER OF ALL THINGS and MASTER GOD and also his apostle — foretold us that these things would happen.” — Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 1, 13; *Opp.* 1, 162 A. “These [Old Testament] teachings are given as proof that Jesus Christ is the Son and Apostle of God, having previously been his Logos, and appeared sometimes in the guise of fire [at the burning bush] and sometimes in the likeness of incorporeal things.” — *Apol.* 1, 63; *Opp.* 1, 262 A. “We do homage to . . . the son . . . and to the host of OTHER good angels who are his followers and like to him. . . .” — *Apol.* 1, 6; *Opp.* 1, 148, 150 C. Compare fuller quotation in *Judaism*, p. 470.

⁵ The Jews — “having it expressly stated in the compositions of

elaborate *Apology* there is not a paragraph nor even a sentence devoted to argument for, nor yet to a statement of, the deity of Jesus. With a possible exception soon to be considered, that doctrine is not even mentioned.⁶ The omission cannot have been occasioned by Gentile repugnance, since after the doctrine was in existence it met less opposition from Gentile converts than from Jewish ones,⁷ and the only natural explanation of it is that the view, if held, had not yet taken such possession of Justin's mind as it afterwards did.

The only mention of the doctrine in the *Apology* is appended,⁸ a mention so parenthetical and brief that its omission would not impair connection of the sentence.

Justin in his larger *Apology* would, by any reader ignorant of his *Dialogue*, be understood as meaning and affirming that

Moses (**Exod. 3, 2, 6, 14, 15**), 'The ANGEL of God spoke to Moses in a fiery flame, in the bush, and said: I am THE BEING, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob' — affirm that it was the Father and Artificer of all things who spoke these words." — *Apol. 1, 63*; *Opp. 1, 262 A, 264 B*. Yet some Jews must, notwithstanding Justin's assertion, have deemed the speaker to Moses an angel. See **Heb. 2, 2**; **Acts 7, 53**; **Galat. 3, 19**; Josephus, *Antiq. 15, 5, 3*.

⁶ The second *Apology* also omits the view, but is too brief and special in object to have needed any allusion to it.

⁷ See *Judaism*, Ch. XI. notes 57, 58, 60.

⁸ "The Jews therefore who constantly maintain that the FATHER OF ALL THINGS spoke to Moses, when the speaker was in reality the Son of God, who is called his ANGEL and APOSTLE, are justly convicted by the prophetic spirit and by Christ himself, of knowing neither the Father nor the son. For those who say that the son is the Father are convicted of not understanding the Father and of not knowing that the FATHER OF ALL THINGS has a son, who being the first-born Logos of God, (*also is God*) also formerly appeared in the semblance of fire and in the image of what was incorporeal, to Moses and to the other prophets." — *Apol. 1, 63*; *Opp. 1, 264 C D*. If the words in a parenthesis be from Justin the word "and" should be substituted for "also" immediately afterwards. The Greek will bear either translation. In this latter case Justin, who had more than once quoted the words spoken to Moses, "I am the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob" (**Exod. 3, 6**), may have deemed it necessary to admit parenthetically that the term God, equally as the term angel, was applied to the speaker in the Old Testament. The parenthesis, however, may be a later insertion. Our means of determining the text of Justin are very scanty, and therefore have less weight in deciding the question. Only two manuscripts of the *Apology* (Smith, *Dict. of Biog. art. Justin*) are in existence. If the parenthesis stood in a different connection its genuineness might be less suspicious, but here it seems to contravene the point of Justin's argument, which consists in keeping out of view the term God while laying stress on the term angel.

Jesus was merely a pre-existent angel.⁹ This certainly is the view to which he gives prominence. Probably in his first efforts to meet objections raised against the Old Testament, this was his means of defence. It is equally plain that at a later date, when he wrote his *Dialogue*, he substitutes the view that Jesus, though called an angel, was a subordinate god.¹⁰

⁹ In one place **Justin** affirms: "We are followers of the ONLY God, the Unborn, through the Son." — *Apol.* 1, 14; *Opp.* 1, 164 B. By the "Unborn God" Justin always means the Father. He never applies this term to Jesus. The passage implies that Justin at this date recognized no god save the Father.

¹⁰ "As to your saying that this Christ pre-existed before the ages as a god, . . . it appears to me not only PARADOXICAL but foolish." — **Trypho** in *Dial.* 48; *Opp.* 2, 154 B. It is noteworthy in the foregoing that Justin takes this method of introducing what he had not previously affirmed. Again, his opponent is made to say: "Answer me first how you can show that there is another God besides the Maker of all things." — **Trypho** in *Dial.* 50; *Opp.* 2, 162 E. "I will endeavor to persuade you who understand the Scriptures, that there is and is said to be another god and lord BENEATH the MAKER OF ALL THINGS, one who is also called an angel." — *Dial.* 56; *Opp.* 2, 178 C. "If I could not show you from the Scriptures that one of those three [*Gen.* 18, 2] is a god and is called an angel, . . . it might be reasonable for you to think him, as your whole nation thinks, the God who existed BEFORE CREATION OF THE WORLD." — *Dial.* 56; *Opp.* 2, 180 D E. "I will endeavor to persuade you that this being who is said to have appeared to Abraham, to Jacob, and to Moses, and is termed god, is a different one from the God WHO MADE ALL THINGS." — *Dial.* 56; *Opp.* 2, 182 E.

"Begin and explain to us how this god, who appeared to Abraham, and who is a SERVANT to God the MAKER OF ALL THINGS, being born of a virgin, became, as you have alleged, a human being, similar in suffering to others." — **Trypho** in *Dial.* 57; *Opp.* 2, 190 E A. "This [being] called a god, who appeared to the patriarchs, is called also angel and lord, so that from these [appellations] you may recognize him as SERVANT to the FATHER OF ALL THINGS." — *Dial.* 58; *Opp.* 2, 192 C D. "It is necessary that I explain to you the words which announce how there appeared to him flying from his brother Esau this being who was angel and god and lord, and who appeared in the form of a man to Abraham, and in the form of a mortal wrestling with Jacob." — *Dial.* 58; *Opp.* 2, 194 E. "Bear with me, I said, while I show you from the book of Exodus how this same [being] angel and god and lord and man and mortal, who appeared to Abraham and Jacob, appeared in a flame of fire from a bush to, or associated with, Moses." — *Dial.* 59; *Opp.* 2, 196 C D. "If, O friends, it was an angel and god at the same time who appeared to Moses, as has been shown you by the previously written words, the god who spoke to Moses, will not be the MAKER OF ALL THINGS . . . but [will be] he who was shown you to have appeared to Abraham and to Jacob: a SERVANT to the will of the MAKER OF ALL THINGS." — *Dial.* 60; *Opp.* 2, 198 A B. The Scripture, "by saying that an angel of the Lord appeared to Moses, and afterwards indicating that it was the Lord him-

This late origin of Christ's deification is corroborated by the paucity of writers in the second century who accept or even allude to it. With Jewish Christians (see *Judaism*, Ch. XI. notes 57, 60) it never found favor.¹¹ Of Gentile Christians in the second century Routh's first volume includes documents and fragments from about twenty who, save *perhaps* Melito,¹² have nothing of Justin's view. Among fourteen or fifteen other writers in the same century eleven — including some who deem Jesus the pre-existent Son of God and instrument of creation — ignore, contravene, or condemn his deification,¹³ while four (if the Epistle to Diognetus be of this century) may have accepted it. These four have certain traits. 1. No one of them (compare p. 75) uses the word Jesus or

self who was also a god, points out the same [being] whom it indicates by many other statements as a SERVANT to the GOD OVER THE WORLD." — *Dial.* 60; *Opp.* 2, 200 A. "I will give you another testimony . . . from the Scriptures, that originally, prior to all his creations, God produced from himself a certain reasoning power which is called by the holy spirit the glory of the Lord, but sometimes son, sometimes wisdom, sometimes god, sometimes lord and logos, and sometimes he calls himself chief commander, when appearing in form of a mortal to Joshua, son of Nun. For he has all these appellations because of serving his Father's will and being born by the will of the Father." — *Dial.* 61; *Opp.* 2, 200 A–202 B. See also cc. 68, 73, 86, 87, 113, 115, 126, [bis], 127, 128 [bis], 129; *Opp.* 2, pp. 332 C, 246 D, 294 A B, 298 C, 376 D, 384 B, 420 D, 422 C, 424 C D, 426 A B C, 428 E. It is possible that Justin had found difficulty in maintaining the position taken in his *Apology*, that the Being mentioned in the Old Testament was simply an angel. He needed to account for the application to that being of the term God, and took this method of doing it. Compare note 25.

¹¹ Justin lived during intense bitterness between Jews and Gentiles. He hoped perhaps to commend his argument to Gentiles by giving it the appearance of confuting a Jew.

¹² See remarks on page 218.

¹³ The Epistles attributed to Ignatius and the so-called second Epistle of Clement are later than the second century. In that century the deification of Jesus is ignored by CLEMENT OF ROME, POLYCARP, BARNABAS, HERMAS, the ORATIO AD GRECOS, and HERMIAS, in all but one of whom it was, if held by the writer, unlikely to be omitted. The MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP (see *Judaism*, p. 469) apparently disclaims it, while the DE MONARCHIA has for a title the watchword of its opponents.

Had the COHORTATIO AD GRECOS regarded Jesus as a deity the view could not have escaped mention in its systematic and elaborate statement of differences in date and character between heathen and Christian views as to the being or beings recognized as God. Its direct statement is: "No one existed earlier than God who could give him a name, nor did He think it necessary to affix a name to himself, being one and ALONE, as He testifies through his own prophets, saying: [Is. 44, 6] 'I was God

Christ.¹⁴ 2. Though treating the Son as the instrument of creation they never style him Creator. 3. Though one of them, Theophilus, quotes Old Testament passages in which the term God is applied to the being whom they deem subordinate, yet each in his own person makes but one, if any, such application of it.¹⁵

Theophilus addressed a work to his heathen friend Autolytus. He instructs him that the Supreme Being dwelt from eternity, having inside of him his reason or creative power; that before creating the world he, without divest-

originally, and beside me there is NO OTHER.'” — Cohort. 21; Just. *Opp.* 1, 62 C.

Irenæus speaks of “The Church” as “receiving . . . the faith in one God, Father, All-Ruler, who made heaven and earth . . . and in one Jesus Christ, the son of God and in the holy spirit which foretold [everything concerning Jesus].” — *Cont. Hæres.* 1, 10, 1. Elsewhere he says: “We have shown . . . that the Apostles in their own person call no one God except . . . the Father of our Lord.” — *Cont. Hæres.* 5, 25, 2.

The **Clementine Homilies** say: “Our Lord . . . did not proclaim himself God. He justly blessed him who called him Son of that God who perfected the beauty of the universe. . . . The Father is unborn; the Son is born. The born cannot compare with the unborn or self-born.” — *Hom.* 16, 15, 16. “Denial of him (the One God) is for a professed Monotheist to allege until death another God, whether [as the Gnostics?] a greater, or [as those who deify Jesus?] a less.” — *Hom.* 3, 7. The author (see *Judaism*, pp. 358–359) ascribes the introduction of such views to Gentiles fresh from heathenism, and affirms eternal perdition for professed Monotheists who until death retain such a view.

¹⁴ MELITO also in addressing Marc Antonine substitutes (Routh, *Reliq. Sac.* 1, 115) the term “Monotheists” for “Christians.”

¹⁵ **Theophilus** once speaks (2, 22; *Opp.* p. 120 C) of the Logos as “being God.” **Athenagoras** applies to the Son (*Supplicat.* 10; *Opp.* p. 48 A) the term God. The word “God,” if dropped out, would cause no break in the connection, and therefore its interpolation after the doctrine became established is possible, though scarcely, I think, probable. The same use of the term occurs once (see note 25) in the Epistle to Diognetus.

Tatian speaks (*Orat.* 13; *Opp.* p. 62, al. 153 A) of “the [suffering] Deity.” If the word “suffering” be spurious, Tatian was speaking of the Supreme Being. If it be genuine, he spoke of the subordinate deity. There is no difficulty in regarding him as having held the belief expressed in the passage. There is, however, great difficulty in supposing that he, or any fellow Christians of his era who held it, would have CALLED ATTENTION of heathens to the fact that one whom they regarded as a deity had been put to death by Roman soldiers. I mistrust that, after Tatian became a Gnostic, some member of the Orthodox party may, as a criticism on his change of views, have added the word “suffering,” and that in course of time it crept into the text.

ing himself of reason, emitted his reason,¹⁶ constituting it a distinct being. Through this "subordinate workman" he created all things save man. When man was to be created he said, "Let us make man."¹⁷

Tatian, the disciple of Justin Martyr, became eventually a Gnostic. Before becoming so he wrote his *Address to Greeks*. In it he maintains the unity of the Supreme Being¹⁸ and represents the Logos as having received a separate existence before the creation, the work of which devolved on him.¹⁹

¹⁶ The term Logos was used sometimes as identical with reason, sometimes with utterance, sometimes with fiat or executive energy. Compare *Judaism*, p. 358.

¹⁷ "God, having his reason dwelling within him, gave it existence eliminating it with his own wisdom before [creation of] all things. He had this reason [or Logos] as a SUBORDINATE WORKMAN of the things produced by him, and he made all things through him." — **Theophilus**, *ad Autol.* 2, 10; *Opp.* pp. 78–80 B C.

"God, by saying [**Gen.** 1, 26] '*Let us make man in our image and similitude*,' indicates first the dignity of man; for God having made all [other] things by his Logos and having esteemed all [other] things a side matter, deems only what was immortal [namely] the making of man a work worthy of [his own] hands." — *Ad Autol.* 2, 18; *Opp.* 108 C D. Compare Sibyl. Orac. 3, 265, cited on p. 177. Theophilus had previously explained (1, 4) that the universe was made on man's account.

"For before anything came into existence [God] had this [Logos] as a counsellor, it being HIS OWN MIND AND THOUGHTFULNESS. But, when God wished to make what he had resolved, he brought into existence outside of himself this Logos, the first-born of the whole creation, he himself not being [thereby] emptied of reason." — *Ad Autol.* 2, 22; *Opp.* 118 B.

¹⁸ "Our God did not originate in time, being alone without beginning, and he himself being the beginning of all things." — *Orat. ad Græcos*, 4; *Opp.* p. 18 C.

"The Master of all things being himself the substance of the universe was, before the creation, ALONE. . . . With him existed through his reasoning power the Reason [or Logos] which was in him. By the will of his simple (or uncompounded) nature, the Logos sprung forth. But the Logos (or utterance of God), not going forth void (compare Is. 55, 11), becomes the first-born of the Father. This Logos we know as the beginning of the world." — *Orat.* 5; *Opp.* 22 A–24 B. Tatian tries, not very intelligibly, to explain the process by which the Logos was separated from the Father.

¹⁹ "The Logos proceeding from the [reasoning] power of the Father did not render the Being who begot him void of reason, even as I speak and you hear, but I who address you do not, by the transmission of my utterance (Logos), become void of (Logos) speech. . . . The Logos, being begotten in the beginning, begot in turn our world." — *Orat.* 5; *Opp.* p. 26 B C. "The heavenly Logos, a spirit produced from the Father, and the (Logos) utterance of his rational power, in imitation of the Father who begot him, made man an image of immortality." — *Orat.* 7; *Opp.* p. 30 B C.

Athenagoras is very emphatic in affirming but one Supreme Being,²⁰ and in alleging the impossibility of two or more unoriginated Gods,²¹ yet he treats the Son as identical with the Logos, and as the instrument of creation.²²

The *Epistle to Diognetus* is by a person of literary culture who penned it at a time when, or under circumstances such, that he did not feel himself personally in danger. He writes with a self-confidence which states, rather than argues, and assumes that his reader Diognetus, who seems to have been an inquirer concerning monotheism, would scarcely need argument in order to share his conclusions. The document is marked by none of the almost tediously diffuse statement and

²⁰ "God, the Maker of the world, was from the beginning One and Alone." — *Supplicat.* (or *Legat.*) s; *Opp.* p. 42 C, edit. Otto. Compare 4, *Opp.* 20 B. "God is unoriginated, incapable of suffering and invisible, and therefore not compounded of parts." — *Supplicat.* s; *Opp.* p. 38 D.

²¹ "See as follows, that God, the Creator of this universe, was from the beginning [but] One, so that you may have the argument for our faith. If from the beginning there were two or more Gods, either they were in one and the same place or each in his own place. In one and the same place they could not be, not even if the Gods were similar, but because [also] unoriginated beings are not similar. Originated things [may be] similar to the pattern [after which they are made], but the unoriginated are dissimilar, being neither [produced from] any one nor after [the pattern of] any one." — *Supplicat.* s; *Opp.* pp. 36–38 B C. "But the Maker of the world is above created things, supervising the world by his foresight for these [created things]. What place will there be for the other god or the remaining ones? not in the world, for it belongs to another; nor beyond the world, since above it is God the Maker of the world." — *Supplicat.* s; *Opp.* pp. 38–40 D A.

²² "It has been sufficiently shown by me that we are not atheists, believing as we do in one God, unborn, eternal, invisible, incapable of suffering, incomprehensible, not to be contained [by any locality], apprehended by the mind only and the reason, surrounded by light and splendor and spirit and power beyond narration, by whom the universe was produced through his Logos and [by whom] it has been adorned and is preserved.

"We understand also [that there is] a Son of God, and let no one deem it ridiculous in me [to say] that God has a son. For we do not think concerning God the Father, or concerning his son, after the fashion of your poets' fables, who represent the gods as in no wise better than men. But the Son of God is the utterance (Logos) of the Father as regards his thought and energy. For according to him and through him all things were brought into being, the Father and the Son being [in their purposes] one; the Son being in the Father and the Father in the Son, through the oneness and efficacy of [their] spirit. The Son of God [being] the intelligence and the utterance (Logos) of the Father." — *Supplicat.* 10; *Opp.* pp. 44 B–46 C.

argument which we find in Justin. Its writer seems rather to multiply short affirmations, as if thereby to emphasize his views, or to overpower his reader. This is less striking in his portraiture of the Supreme Being²³ than in his account of the Christians,²⁴ and of the embassy sent to man.²⁵

His self-confidence, due to personal peculiarities, could hardly have found safe public utterance under Marc Antonine.²⁶ He either wrote later or not for immediate publica-

²³ "For God the Master and Artificer of the universe, who made all things and arranged them in order, not only was a friend of man but very patient. This indeed He always is and will be, excellent and good and without anger and truthful; and He only is good. Meditating a great and unuttered conception which he communicated to his only Son, so long as he continued to keep secret his wise counsel he seemed to disregard and neglect us, but when he revealed and made manifest through his beloved Son the things prepared from the beginning, he enabled us at [one and] the same time to partake of his benefits and to have insight and be workers." — *Epistle to Diognetus*, 8; Justin, *Opp.* 2, 490 C D.

²⁴ *Epistle to Diognetus*, cc. 4-6; Justin, *Opp.* 2, 476-482.

²⁵ "God who is truly the All-ruler, the All-creator and Invisibile, himself placed the Truth from heaven and his holy and uncomprehended Logos in men and established it in their hearts, not as any one might think probable, by sending to men some servant or angel, or any ruler of those who supervise earthly affairs, or one of those entrusted with the arrangement of things in heaven, but the artificer and artisan of the universe, THROUGH WHOM He created the heavens, BY WHOM he restricted the sea to its own bounds, whose secret [orders] all constituents [of the universe] faithfully obey, from whom they have received [injunctions] to guard the measure of each day's course, whom the moon obeys when he commands her to appear by night, whom the stars obey, following the course of the moon, by whom ALL THINGS are arranged and limited, and to whom they are subordinated: the heavens and the things in the heavens; the earth and the things in the earth; the sea and the things in the sea; the fire, the air, the abyss, the things on high, those in the depths and the things between. This being He sent to them. Did he send him, as some man might think, to tyrannize, to cause fear and to terrify? By no means, but in mildness and gentleness. As a king sending a royal son He sent him; He sent him as a god; He sent him as to men; as purposing to save He sent him; as desiring to persuade, not to compel, for there is no violence with God. He sent as if inviting, not prosecuting. He sent as one who loves, not who judges. . . . For who among men, before his coming, understood what God is!" — *Epistle to Diognetus*, 7, 8; Justin, *Opp.* 2, 484-488.

²⁶ The miscreants who controlled Marc Antonine endeavored to divert attention from their own misrule by attributing its results to anger of the gods against Christians. Some law against these latter — dating possibly from Trajan's time — existed under Antoninus Pius (Justin, *Apol.* 1, 7) but was held in check probably by the good sense of that emperor.

tion.²⁷ His letter may have been to a friend who would make only such use of it as could not imperil its author. Publication may have taken place in a subsequent generation when the writer's name was unknown, a supposition favored by the fact that the letter is anonymous.

In examining the date when Jesus was deified three views should be distinguished which, though blended in some minds, were not so in all.

1. A portion of Christians contented themselves with presenting their Master as a superangelic being older than creation.²⁸ This served their purpose in two ways. It over-matched the claim of heathenism for superior antiquity,²⁹ and it avoided conceptions of the Master's human body which, owing to a mistake of Christians,³⁰ were already ridiculed.

2. Others identified this superangelic being with the Logos, aiming perhaps at one or both of the following results. They thereby proclaimed as their teacher one, the faith in whom

His successor, the present one, issued an edict, or edicts (Routh, *Reliq. Sac.* 1, p. 116, lines 1, 2, 12) in accordance with which Christians if Roman citizens were (Routh, 1, 313) beheaded and if not were thrown to wild beasts. In Asia they seem, as in the case of Polycarp, to have been burned. Atrocities practicable in portions of Europe may in the monotheistic countries of western Asia have been mitigated because of public opinion. It is noteworthy that a friendly thrust of the executioner's sword terminated Polycarp's existence (Martyrdom of Polycarp, 16) before the fire touched him.

Christians claimed that they should like other men be punished only for crime. The answer to this may be inferred from the following: "The centurion . . . punished for a long time in prison, Ptolemy . . . on his confessing himself a Christian. Finally when the man was brought to the city præfect he was in like manner asked only this, whether he were a Christian. . . . When the præfect commanded him to be led to execution a certain Lucius, himself a Christian, . . . said to the præfect, 'For what cause . . . do you punish this man?' . . . and he, answering, said to Lucius, 'You seem to be such as he'; and when Lucius said, 'Most certainly,' [the præfect] commanded him also to be led to execution." — **Justin Martyr**, *Apol.* 2, 2; *Opp.* 1, 286 D E, 288 A B.

²⁷ The writer's use of *οἰκονομικῶς* (c. ε) for a household arrangement between God and Jesus favors a somewhat later date.

²⁸ Barnabas, Irenæus, and Hermas hold this view with no mention of the Logos.

²⁹ Heathenism in the days of Marc Antonine was no longer confronted by Judaism but by an apparently recent religion. It laid therefore extra stress on antiquity. The emperor lent himself (see *Judaism*, Cc. 11. note 41, XII. note 7) to foster this foolish argument.

³⁰ See p. 40.

could not be judicially condemned³¹ without condemning the sect to which the emperor belonged. They may also have hoped for added dignity by using the language of a sect which numbered the emperor among its followers.

3. Yet others proclaimed their Master a subordinate god, prompted somewhat though less perhaps by a desire of additionally dignifying him than by a wish to free the Supreme Being from representations in the Old Testament, which a heathen community regarded as degrading.³²

Justin in his *Apology* lays stress on the position that the Old Testament in passages which the Jews interpreted as speaking of God spoke merely of an angel.³³ This position was difficult or impossible to maintain in the face of passages which apply to this same being the term God. He probably found his first position untenable, and in his *Dialogue* substitutes the view — modified from one held by the Gnostics — that this being was a subordinate god.

A summary of the case stands as follows. The writings of **Justin Martyr** render probable that in his mind the belief took root after publication of his first *Apology* and before writing the *Dialogue*, that is, after A. D. 150, a view corroborated by his evident mistrust of his own arguments in the latter work.³⁴

Of other Christian writings in the second century five-sixths ignore, antagonize, or condemn Justin's view; those who teach it—all of them later than Justin—do not agree in their expositions of it, while their disuse of the words Jesus and Christ indicates that they wrote under some then existing bias. Had the doctrine originated earlier than the assigned date it could not have been so ignored, and there would have been more unanimity among its supporters.³⁵

³¹ Justin, while identifying Jesus with a pre-existent being called the Logos, did not refrain from using the terms Jesus and Christ.

³² See p. 200 and especially the text prefixed to note 36.

³³ So late as in the fourth century the Homilies on Luke (Hom. 3) treat it as an open question whether the being who spoke to Abraham were an angel or God.

³⁴ Justin in his deification of Jesus evidently felt that he was not treading on sure ground. See note 2.

³⁵ Among those acquainted with common interpretations of the introduction to John's Gospel, especially if they have access only to the common English version of it, the question may arise whether John held any

One or two additional considerations, though not bearing on the date when Jesus was deified, may not be without interest. Justin repeatedly (see p. 52, note 7), and oftener than other writers, designates the Father as the Master-God. He also applies to Jesus the term SERVANT. He lived in a city the headquarters of slaveholding, and expected to be read by its inhabitants. How far this influenced his interpretation of the Old Testament may be a question. In such a community menial offices were thought very derogatory to the deity. Tertullian says concerning God shutting the door of the Ark after Noah, and touching certain other non-menal but condescending acts: "These things would not be credible concerning the Son of God unless written; perhaps they would not be credible concerning the Father, even if they were written."³⁶

It will further be noticed that the extracts treat merely of two gods. Deification of the Spirit as a distinct and third person took place in the third century, being taught in that century by two writers only. One of these, as elsewhere remarked (see *Judaism*, p. 357), treats the majority of Christians who had been horrified at the introduction of a second god, as exclaiming, You are ALREADY introducing a third one!

view analogous to that of Justin and other writers. The tenor of John's writings is against such interpretation of his words. To the common English reader his meaning will be plainer by substituting for Logos the word Providence, the only English term analogous in triple meaning to the Greek one. It denotes God, his agency, and some of his attributes, but prominently supervision, rather than, as Logos, reason, fiat (Ps. 33, 6), creative energy, or planning. Compare on this subject *Judaism*, p. 358, note 59. Verse 3 admits two translations, which, for the reader's convenience, are put into parallel columns.

"In the beginning Providence existed and Providence was with God and Providence [compare on p. 195, Theophilus, *ad Autol.* 2, 22] was God [himself]. It was in the beginning with God. Through it all things came into being, and without it not one thing came into existence. Through it all things came into being, and without it not one occurrence took place. And Providence (God's interposition) took a human form and dwelt among us, . . . full of favor and of truth." — **John 1, 1-3, 14.**

The use of "he" and "him" in the Greek depends on the termination of the word referred to, and would be equally necessary in referring to the word *oikos*, house, as in referring to an intelligent being.

If *πάντα* in verse 3 were preceded by the article *τά*, there would be more probability that John spoke of creation. As the text stands there is equal or greater probability that he was not thinking of it. Compare in Lactantius, 7, 18, the use of *γενόμενος* as quoted from Hermes.

³⁶ Tertullian, *adv. Prax.* 16, p. 649 A, edit. Rigault.

The fabrication which the Christians circulated and quoted as a work of Hermes, indicates the views which many of them wished to spread. **Lactantius** says: "Hermes, in that book which is inscribed *The Perfect (or Final) Discourse*, uses these words: 'The Lord and Maker of all things, whom we are accustomed to call God, when He made a SECOND god; . . . when He made this one, first and only, and sole, [and when] he [the created being] appeared to him excellent and most filled with all good things, He consecrated him and loved him exceedingly as his peculiar child.'"³⁷

NOTE N.

FIRST TWO CHAPTERS OF MATTHEW.

SOME Hebrew manuscripts of Matthew omitted the first two chapters. The narrative which they contain, moreover, is not easy to reconcile with that in the first two chapters of Luke,¹ and the name Jesus Christ here used without the article intervening (see pp. 60, 61) is not to be found in the undoubted portions of Matthew. This raises the question whether they were prefixed to **Matthew's Gospel** by himself or by another. The question has been argued by more than one writer.² The chief object of the present Note is to bring out by its typography what these chapters profess to be. The typography commonly used fails to give it due prominence.

³⁷ Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 4, c. Cp. *Judaism*, Ch. XI., note 54.

¹ The two chapters prefixed to Matthew represent that when Jesus was born wise men from the East came to Jerusalem (2, 1, 2); that they communicated with Herod before they had seen the child, and were warned by God that they should not communicate with him again. Herod sought the child's destruction, which was prevented by its parents taking it to Egypt, where they remained until Herod's death, after which they did not go (2, 22) to their former home, but turned aside into Galilee, and dwelt in a city called Nazareth.

According to **Luke** Nazareth was the home of Joseph and Mary. They were merely visiting (Luke 2, 4, 5) in Bethlehem. After the child's birth they went openly into the temple and afterwards returned (2, 39) "to their own city Nazareth."

² See Norton's *Genuineness*, 1, App. p. liii; abridged edit. p. 431.

BOOK OF

THE BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST,

SON OF DAVID, SON OF ABRAHAM.

Abraham was the father of Isaac ; and Isaac of Jacob ; and Jacob of Judah and his brothers ; and Judah was the father of Pharez and Zarah, by Tamar ; and Pharez was the father of Hezron ; and Hezron of Aram ; and Aram of Aminadab ; and Aminadab of Nashon ; and Nashon of Salmon ; and Salmon was the father of Boaz, by Rahab ; and Boaz was the father of Obed, by Ruth ; and Obed was the father of Jesse ; and Jesse of David the king.

And David the king was the father of Solomon, by the wife of Uriah ; and Solomon was the father of Rehoboam ; and Rehoboam of Abiah ; and Abiah of Asa ; and Asa of Jehoshaphat ; and Jehoshaphat of Jehoram ; and Jehoram of Uzziah ; and Uzziah of Jotham ; and Jotham of Ahaz ; and Ahaz of Hezekiah ; and Hezekiah of Ma-

nasseh ; and Manasseh of Amon ; and Amon of Josiah ; and Josiah was the father of Jeconiah and his brothers, at the time of the removal to Babylon.

And after the removal to Babylon, Jeconiah was the father of Salathiel ; and Salathiel of Zerubbabel ; and Zerubbabel of Abiud ; and Abiud of Eliakim ; and Eliakim of Azor ; and Azor of Zadok ; and Zadok of Achim ; and Achim of Eliud ; and Eliud of Eleazar ; and Eleazar of Matthan ; and Matthan of Jacob ; and Jacob was the father of Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ.

So all the generations from Abraham to David were fourteen generations ; from David till the removal to Babylon, fourteen generations ; and from the removal to Babylon until Christ, fourteen generations.

Now **THE BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST** took place as follows : While his mother Mary was betrothed to Joseph, before they lived together, she was found to be with child by the Holy Spirit. Joseph, her husband, being a just man and not wishing to expose her to shame, purposed to put her away privately. While he was considering this, lo an angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, saying, Do not fear to take Mary as thy wife [etc., to the close of Ch. 2].

NOTE O.

PUBLICATION OF MARK'S GOSPEL.

CHRISTIAN tradition says that Mark at Rome committed to writing what Peter had taught concerning the history of Jesus, and that afterwards, going to Alexandria, he published his Gospel in that city.¹ Two circumstances harmonize sufficiently with this statement to increase somewhat its probability.

1. The Gospel of Mark terminates,² as already said, rather abruptly with verse 8 of chapter 16. This accords at least with the supposition of an interruption to his labors by the death of Peter or by the persecution of the Christians.

2. Three or four years later, when Vespasian was at Alexandria, aiming at imperial power, some of his adherents who had already perhaps tried to make him the subject of proph-

¹ **Irenæus** says: "After the death of these (Peter and Paul), Mark, the disciple and INTERPRETER of Peter, delivered to us in writing the things that had been preached by Peter." — *Cont. Hæres.* 3, 1, 1; *Opp.* 1, 423. **Papias** states: "The elder said this: 'Mark being the INTERPRETER of Peter, wrote WHAT HE REMEMBERED.'" — **Papias** quoted by **Eusebius**, *Ecc. Hist.* 3, 39. **Jerome** says: "Mark . . . wrote a short Gospel according to what he had heard related by Peter . . . taking the Gospel which he himself had composed, he went to Egypt, and at Alexandria founded a church of great note." — *De Vir. Illust.* 8; *Opp.* 2, 841–843, edit. Vallarsius; Lardner's trans.

² The subsequent verses, 9–20 (quoted in Ch. XI. note 10), "are not found in the Vatican manuscript. In the Codex Stephani η after the eighth verse, it is said, *The following also is extant*, which words precede a short conclusion undoubtedly spurious, and then come the words, *This also is extant*; after which follow the twelve verses in question. In more than forty other manuscripts they are accompanied by various remarks, to the effect 'that they were wanting in some, but found in the ancient copies'; 'that they were in many copies'; 'that they had been considered spurious, and were wanting in most copies'; 'that they were not in the more accurate copies'; and, on the other hand, 'that they were generally in accurate copies.' [The Sinaitic MS. discovered by Tischendorf also omits the passage.]

"In the other manuscripts of the Gospels beside those mentioned, the passage in question is found without remark; and likewise in all the ancient versions, with the exception of the Armenian, in the manuscripts of which, as appears, it is either omitted or marked as of doubtful credit, and likewise of the copy of an Arabic version preserved in the Vatican Library.

"The nineteenth verse is distinctly quoted by Irenæus as from the Gospel of Mark; and the passage in question appears to have been recog-

ecy,³ undertook yet further to strengthen confidence in him by a couple of fictitious miracles, borrowed evidently from our Gospel narratives, or from Christian teaching concerning Christ. John's Gospel was not yet written. One of these miracles,⁴ that of restoring sight after spitting on the eyes, is not mentioned in Matthew nor in Luke. It is found only in Mark, and gives plausibility to the surmise that the recent publication of Mark's Gospel may have caused discussion and suggested to Vespasian's adherents the character of the miracle which they attempted.

NOTE P.

THE BAPTISMAL FORMULA.

ANY baptisms mentioned in the New Testament were, as already stated,¹ into the name of Jesus. In the second cen-

nized as genuine by some other fathers.* But no part of it is quoted by Origen. According to Eusebius, almost all the copies of Mark's Gospel, including the most accurate, ended with what is now the eighth verse. Gregory of Nyssa states, that the passage was not found in the more accurate copies; and Jerome says, that it was but in few, being wanting in almost all the *Greek* manuscripts." — **Norton**, *Genuineness*, abridged edit. pp. 444–445; unabridged edit. Vol. 1. App. LXX–LXXII.

³ "Through the WHOLE EAST an ancient and uninterrupted opinion had gained thorough currency, as contained in the fates, that at that time PERSONS from Judea should obtain rule. That, as afterwards appeared from the event, was a prediction concerning a Roman commander." — **Suetonius**, *Vespas.* 4. The commander referred to is Vespasian. The plural form "*persons*" may have been due to an association of Titus with Vespasian as nominally joint emperors.

⁴ "One of the common people of Alexandria, known to have a disease in his eyes, embraced the knees of the emperor, importuning with groans a remedy for his blindness. . . . Another who was diseased in the hand [compare Mark 3, 1–5; Matt. 12, 10–13; Luke 6, 6–10] . . . entreated that he might be pressed by the foot and sole of Cæsar. Vespasian at first ridiculed the request. . . . Vespasian executed what was required of him. Immediately the hand was restored to its functions and the light of day shone again to the blind." — **Tacitus**, *Hist.* 4, 81; Bohn's trans. According to Suetonius (*Vespas.* 7) Vespasian ANOINTED THE MAN'S EYES WITH SPITTLE. Compare Mark 8, 23.

¹ See Ch. IV. note 22.

* "Not, however, by Clement of Rome, nor Justin, who are cited as quoting it in the editions of the New Testament by Griesbach and Scholz, nor, I think, by Clement of Alexandria, who is also adduced." — **Norton**, *Ibid.*

tury — apparently before the deification of Jesus² and a full half-century before any deification of the Spirit³ — we find a baptismal formula “in the name of the Father of the universe and Master-God, and of our Savior Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit.”⁴

The change of formula claims attention ; and this is equally the case whether the baptismal precept (quoted on p. 49) be genuine or interpolated. In the former case we have the difficult problem of explaining non-attention to it in Apostolic times, while in the latter we need to explain the cause, or causes, which produced a change. Part of the change can be explained without difficulty. While Christians made converts only among Jews or monotheists, they felt no need of baptizing them into a belief in God, since they already believed in him. When Christianity was carried among heathens its converts were asked to confess belief in God as well as in Jesus.

Confession of belief in the Spirit admits more question as to its origin. The most probable explanation, though not Justin Martyr's,⁵ is that some Christians of the second century PRIDED themselves on their alleged miraculous powers. Jesus had cautioned his Apostles against similar pride,⁶ yet in the spu-

² The baptismal formula occurs in Justin's first *Apology*. On his views concerning Jesus at this date, see in preceding note pp. 191-193.

³ No writers of the second century, and only two of the third century, namely, Tertullian and Origen, deify the Spirit as a person. Even at the close of the third century such deification must have made but little progress. The document attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, and first quoted by Lactantius, cannot be earlier than the second half of the third century. It mentions the formation of a second God, but in such a way as to exclude a third one. See Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 4, 6, cited at close of Note M. Also *Div. Inst.* 7, 18, cited at close of Note K.

In the second century the author of the Clementine Homilies, as will be seen on p. 194, condemns severely those who deified any being save the Creator, but alludes to none who introduced more than one such additional.

⁴ Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 1, 61 ; *Opp.* 1, 258 A, edit. Otto.

⁵ Justin, after explaining (*Apol.* 1, 61 ; *Opp.* 1, 258 - 260 D, ed. Otto) that baptism was into the name of the “Father of the universe and Master-God,” who had, and needed, no name, and into the name of Jesus Christ crucified under Pontius Pilate, adds (c. 61, 260 E) : “into the name of the Holy Spirit [omitted by Irenæus, 4, 23, 2], which through the prophets PREDICTED ALL THINGS CONCERNING JESUS.” By belief in the Spirit Justin (cp. Irenæus, on p. 194) meant chiefly belief in its predictions concerning Jesus which he regarded the spirit of God (the prophetic or holy spirit) as having uttered in the Old Testament. On these and on predictions in general see pp. 17, 37, 38, 72 ; cp. *Judaism*, pp. 345, 346.

⁶ “Rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you : but rather rejoice, because your names are written in heaven.” — Luke 10, 20.

rious addition to Mark's Gospel he is made apparently to encourage it.⁷ This disposition of Christians⁸ renders probable that baptism into the Spirit meant baptism into the possession of miraculous powers.

If we assume that the baptismal precept in Matthew (28, 19) is genuine, any explanation of its non-observance in Apostolic times is difficult and unsatisfactory.

NOTE Q.

THE MISSION OF JESUS.

§ 1. *Its main Object.*

IN the Preface Christianity is treated as a revelation. The writer supposes that this revelation was intended to give mankind a deeper assurance as to the existence and character of God and as to his relations with men, thus strengthening human sense of responsibility, encouraging human effort, and imparting to human existence the sunshine of hope and trust.

He is not unaware that large bodies of Christians hold other views as to the chief purpose of Jesus. Those who attach high importance to Church authority claim that his main object was to form an ecclesiastical organization with delegated powers.¹ In Protestant communities several active denominations hold that his main object was to make a sacrifice.²

⁷ "These signs shall accompany believers : In my name shall they cast out demons ; they shall speak new languages ; they shall take up serpents ; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them ; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover." — **Mark 16**, 17, 18. Compare Acts of Pilate, § 15, text of Paris A.

⁸ Justin tells Trypho : "From our works [of practical-monotheism] and from the *δυνάμεις*, MIRACULOUS POWER, consequent on them, all can understand that this [Jesus] is the new Law and the new Covenant." — **Just. Mart. Dial.** 11. Cp. (on p. 3) *Apol.* 2, 6. Tertullian, with injudicious vehemence, dares the heathens to test the divinity of their gods. He is willing to stake the Christian exorcist's life on the result if he does not compel the fancied divinity to confess itself a mere demon. See Tertullian, *Apol.* 27, in *Underworld Mission*, p. 78 ; 3d ed. 74, 75.

¹ This view, transmitted from the Middle Ages, is unlikely to hold its own in communities which lay stress on individual religious responsibility.

² Prominent teachers of this theology allege that its chief doctrine, or

§ 2. *Some Impediments to its Influence.*

At and before the Christian era many Jews expected a divine interposition in the form of a temporal ruler clothed with miraculous powers, who should establish order upon earth and facilitate, if not establish, a reign of holiness.³ Not a few Christians retained this anticipation, and as their Master had

doctrines, cannot be found in the Gospels. **Archbishop Whately** says: "The Gospel which Jesus himself preached was not the same thing with the Gospel which he sent forth his Apostles to preach after his resurrection. . . . How, indeed, could our Lord, during his abode on earth, preach fully . . . his meritorious sacrifice as an atonement for sin? . . . Our Lord's discourses, therefore, while on earth, though they teach, of course, the truth, do not teach, nor could have been meant to teach, the WHOLE truth, as afterwards revealed to his disciples. They could not, indeed, even consistently with truth, have contained the main part of what the Apostles preached. . . .

"Our chief source, therefore, of instruction, as to the doctrines of the Gospel, must be in the apostolic epistles." — *Difficulties in the Writings of St. Paul*, pp. 65–67, 74.

Macknight says: "The chief doctrines of the gospel are more expressly asserted and more fully explained in the Epistle to the Hebrews, than in any other of the inspired writings." — *The Apostolic Epistles*, Vol. 5, p. 1.

Those who hold the foregoing view would probably, by calling themselves "Epistolary" instead of "Evangelical" Christians, convey to others a more correct idea of the ground on which they plant themselves.

This view as commonly held ignores the universe save the sandspeck on which we live. Were a human being to step outside of the solar system, not to any distant part of the universe, but to the nearest fixed star, he could not with the best of human telescopes discern the earth. Yet what is called Evangelical theology teaches, that on this sandspeck, and nowhere else in the universe, the Supreme Being found a need of being put to death, or for having a constituent part of himself put to death — whatever either expression may mean — before he could forgive his infant children who dwell there. Among the myriad millions of homes where his other children are trained, no such need arose.

3 " . . . Then shall the mightiest kingdom
Of the Immortal King appear among men,
And a Sacred Prince shall come to hold the sceptre of the whole
earth
To all ages of the time which approaches."

Sibyl. Orac. 3, 47–50.

"Then God will send a King from the East,
Who shall cause the whole earth to cease from wicked war,
By killing some, and administering binding oaths to others.
Nor shall he do these things by his own counsels,
But by obeying the excellent rules of the Great God."

Sibyl. Orac. 3, 652–656.

not fulfilled it they expected his reappearance to establish such a reign.⁴

Of course a temporal ruler, guided by God and clothed with power to crush injustice and oppression, might in the world's history more than once have demolished whatever obstructed open allegiance to God or the improvement consequent thereon. Probably such interposition would have diminished human sense of responsibility and human efforts, nor would mankind have learned the lessons which experience has taught them. It is plain at least that divine interposition has addressed only the individual conscience. Wherever correct views of God have depended for maintenance on supporters too few, too disunited or unfaithful, these views have been overpowered and civilization has retrograded or been driven out. This happened to Greek civilization—the child of monotheism—at Rome⁵ and subsequently in Asia and North Egypt, as also to its offshoot the Saracenic culture in Spain.⁶ A modern era witnessed but one small locality where reasonable freedom was allowed to the utterance of Christian truth and to the advocacy of human improvement.⁷

⁴ See Norton, *Statement of Reasons*, Appendix, Note B. Compare *Judaism*, pp. 235, 236.

⁵ See *Judaism*, pp. 11–14, 369, 387, 388.

⁶ The Saracenic views of God must have been less defective than the misnamed Christian ones by which in Spain they were supplanted. Compare *Judaism*, p. 370.

⁷ “To Europe and mankind, in the mean time, the success of the maritime provinces was of the greatest importance. . . . Resistance to those who were controlling religious opinions by fire and sword, and trampling upon constitutional privileges, had been successfully made.

“An asylum was opened for all those, of whatever country, who fled from persecution; from persecution of whatever kind. The benefit thus accruing to mankind cannot now be properly estimated, for we cannot now feel what it is to have no refuge and no means of resistance, while men are ready to punish us for our opinions, and are making themselves inquisitors of our conduct. It is known to have been one of the severest miseries of the later Romans, that they could not escape from their government; that the world belonged to their emperors.

“It was in the Low Countries that the defenders of civil and religious liberty found shelter. It was there that they could state their complaints, publish what they conceived to be the truth, and maintain and exercise the privileges of free inquiry. These were the countries to which Locke retired, and where William the Third was formed.”—*Smyth, Lectures on Mod. Hist.*, Lect. XII. Vol. 1, pp. 319–320. Even in the Low Countries the execution at a somewhat earlier date of Barneveldt and the imprisonment of Grotius indicate how slow men were in learning to respect the rights of others.

At present the number of Christian countries which more or less clearly acknowledge the rights of conscience, renders very improbable that these rights can again be totally abolished. Yet many impediments affect their free exercise.

In hereditary monarchies the character of the king and his surroundings may hinder growth.

Monarchical system excessively carried out may, even under a good sovereign, impede progress. The author has elsewhere quoted (*Judaism*, p. 367) the remark of an old philanthropist living under one of the most liberal monarchies of continental Europe; that those in authority were sure to oppose efforts for improving society unless they themselves had been previously consulted and their approbation obtained.

Privileged classes, whether ecclesiastical or secular, may hinder not only growth of correct views touching God, but their application to human welfare. Even if the sentiment of such class be against existing evils there will be hesitation to commence innovations, whose limit cannot be foreseen.

In communities not qualified for self-government, though living under popular institutions, thoughtful citizens, to say nothing of the merely timid, will sometimes oppose a commendable innovation through fear of other changes which they might prove unable to hinder.

Again: War, though under exceptional circumstances a duty, is, even under conscientious commanders,⁸ a severe interruption to religious development and human improvement. European standing armies absorb young men by hundreds of thousands, substituting camp influences for those of home.

False representations of Christianity by its advocates repel even yet not a few right-minded persons.

In most European monarchies the Church is more or less managed by the government. Many who identify Christianity with this organization imagine that the renunciation of

⁸ **Archenholtz**, amid incidents, some of which might be attributed partly to generous sentiment, narrates the following: "The French, under General Mercieres, captured the Westphalian city of Bielefeld, celebrated for its linen manufacture, on which occasion the bleaching stations were plundered, though the General opposed these excesses. His conscience, however, told him that he could have acted more energetically. Therefore, in the year 1790, thirty-three years after the occurrence, he sent from Bayonne to the magistrate of Bielefeld a considerable sum of money, with the request to apportion it among the sufferers yet living, or if they were dead to appropriate the amount in some other way useful to the city." — *Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges*, I, pp. 339, 340.

Christianity is requisite to republican institutions.⁹ A generation or two may pass before this error can be unlearned.

In our own country its marvellously rapid development keeps multitudes in a state of anticipation and speculation unfavorable to thoughts of personal improvement.

Yet in spite of impediments those views of God for which Christianity furnished needed evidence have been taking deeper hold among mankind, even among many who have imbibed them without knowing the extent of their indebtedness to Christianity. Since the rights of conscience have been more acknowledged, the application of religious truth has been more easy and human progress more rapid. Many know but little of what was tolerated within a century.

In France, prior to the Revolution of 1793, the punishment of "Wheeling"¹⁰ even for moderate offences had been rendered so atrocious that it would seem prompted by a conclave of demons.¹¹ The Revolution abolished it and similar barbarities in most French-speaking countries.

In Germany this mode of punishment¹² was retained in a

⁹ This must not be confounded with the view of those who wish merely to dissolve connection between Church and State, a step from which some liberalists shrink. Compare in *Judaism*, note on pp. 369, 370.

¹⁰ In English allusions to this punishment "Wheeling" is almost universally mistranslated "breaking on the wheel." Mrs. Hemans has been misled by such phraseology into representing the wife of Rudolph Von der Wart (Hemans's *Poetical Works*, 2, p. 101) as remaining by her husband during the hours when he was ON THE WHEEL.

The punishment of Wheeling was usually executed by fastening the subject to the ground and breaking his limbs either with a common wagon-wheel, or with one made for the purpose. The wheel seen by the writer at Freiburg, Switzerland, was much smaller than a wagon-wheel; was provided on one side with handles, and on the other side, for perhaps a fourth or a third of its circumference, with a sharpened iron or steel rim to facilitate breaking the limbs. His guide had seen a man executed with it in 1823.

¹¹ In France, though the term WHEELING was retained, the punishment was inflicted with an iron club, the victim being stretched in an iron frame. The directions to the executioner, which the author read many years ago, are here given from memory. These were: to begin with the left arm, commencing at the wrist; then with the left leg; then, after some delay, with the right leg, and then with the right arm. He was to mangle each wrist, elbow, ankle, and knee-joint with two blows, and the intervening portion of each limb with a specified number, not less, if memory serve me, than five or six. The executioner was further directed not to desist because of cries from the condemned person.

¹² In Germany, as I was informed by a Berlin lawyer, two forms of condemnation were recognized: wheeling FROM ABOVE DOWNWARDS, and

less brutal form so late, at least, as A. D. 1841, when a man was "wheeled to death in Prussia,"¹³ at a spot southwest of Koenigsberg on the sea-coast.

In the United States burning to death as a LEGAL punishment must have been retained in a state so far northward as New Jersey until the middle of the last century,¹⁴ while in some of the more Southern States this mode of punishment was in force so late at least as the second quarter of the present one.¹⁵

FROM BELOW UPWARDS. In the former case the first blow fell on the chest, and was expected to kill the victim, the limbs being afterwards broken for form's sake; in the latter case the limbs were first broken and the *coup de grace*, or finishing stroke, given afterwards, if at all.

¹³ The following is extracted from p. 87 of a German newspaper furnished me by the **Burgomeister of Frauenburg**. The title of the paper does not appear on the slip sent me. "Braunsberg, July 7, 1841. This morning at half past six the death penalty of wheeling from below [upwards] was executed on the robber and murderer Rudolph Kühnapfel, . . . in the vicinity of the village Nartz, near Frauenburg, in presence of a great multitude." The bracketed word is supplied from a different paper. I remember an extract from yet another paper which stated that Kühnapfel was ten minutes in dying. I suppose that his crime may have been treated as constructive parricide. The Bishop of Ermeland whom he murdered may have been regarded as his spiritual father. I was told that an attempt to murder the king could be punished in the same way, perhaps on the ground that he was the political father of his people, yet in aggravated cases the punishment may have been adjudged without stretching the meaning of language.

¹⁴ The author has learned from one of his neighbors that when the uncle of that neighbor's father was killed in New Jersey by a slave, the slave was legally executed by burning. The father was born in 1750. Whether the execution took place before or after that date is unknown to his informant.

¹⁵ **W. C. Bryant** informed me that the execution in South Carolina of a negro woman by burning in the year 1820, is mentioned by Stroud in his *Slave Laws*. He omitted to mention the page.

An intelligent colored man now resident in Meadville, and born he says in 1826 or 1827, tells the author that during his childhood his grandmother witnessed a similar execution of a man near Fayetteville, N. C. He remembers his grandmother's statement that the man (a white one he thinks) petitioned to have oil put upon the fagots.

The author himself distinctly recollects reading in early life the newspaper account of a similar execution in South Carolina, an account collected also by one of his older relatives. The newspaper said that the driest of fagots had been procured in order to diminish the pain of execution. As a Charleston lady, with whom he conversed in 1839 at Geneva in Switzerland, was unaware of the execution, and as he has had a Charleston paper searched ineffectually for its record, he supposes it to have occurred in the interior of the State. Lest, moreover, the accuracy of his

The late Henry Colman of Massachusetts told me that he had in early life seen human beings carried down State Street, Boston, to be branded and to have their ears slit.¹⁶

The exigencies of war may sometimes be thought to palliate harsh treatment; but corporal punishment in the peace establishment of Frederic the Second equalled that of the most barbarous nations.¹⁷

If we consider that more than eighteen centuries ago Tiberius, educated partly by the monotheistic influences of Asia Minor, abolished corporal punishment,¹⁸ it seems as if the world had received a discouraging back-set. But it is undoubtedly further advanced than in his time, for his views would

memory should be suspected, he will state some of the circumstances which corroborate it. He remembers conversing on the subject with his father, who expressed his opinion that it was in some States the specified form of punishment for a slave who killed his master. Also in one of his own letters to his father, dated Jan. 12, 1841, is the following: "In Prussia the punishment of the Wheel is still in use for persons who have killed near relations. . . . In Greece I see from the papers that the torture still exists. Whether we have so far got rid of such abominations in our own country as to have formally abolished the law in South Carolina ordaining burning to death as the punishment of a slave who kills his master, I do not know. I remember but one instance of such an execution, but that was one too many."

My father's opinion that the form of punishment was specified by law, cannot have been true of South Carolina. The late **W. C. Bryant** procured for me information taken from Stroud's *Slave Laws*, that in certain cases the *method* of punishment was left to the discretion of three magistrates.

¹⁶ I learn from **Judge Hoar** that "branding and cropping the ears were abolished as punishments in Massachusetts, in 1805; whipping in 1826."

¹⁷ "If the soldier committed a [military?] crime he had to run the gantlet through a lane of two hundred, or rather to walk it. Six times was the least, thirty-six the highest number of these painful perambulations. The last-mentioned punishment was called 'FOR LIFE AND DEATH,' and was divided into three days, and on the last day the wrong-doer's coffin was brought with him on the parade." — **Archenholtz**, *Kleine Hist. Schriften*, 1, pp. 27, 28. To prevent any acceleration of pace by the condemned man, a soldier with reversed musket under his arm preceded him so that he could not quicken his pace without running on the bayonet. This punishment his comrades must sometimes have been compelled to execute on one from whom they had received kindness and whom they would gladly have spared.

"The highest crime was breach of subordination. Even for the slightest faults of this kind [a soldier] was confronted by running the gantlet, or by the bullet. Whoever with weapon in hand carried his fault to practical acts was wheeled alive." — *Ibid.* p. 28.

¹⁸ See Tac. *An.* 4, 6, quoted in *Judaism*, p. 506.

now find a general sympathy which they then, in Europe at least, failed to receive. We must remember, however, that the existence of mankind on the earth has probably little more than begun. One cycle of the earth's motion requires more than a thousand centuries.¹⁹ There must be stellar cycles for which a million centuries would be but a fraction of the required time. The hand which arranged these movements will probably permit a few of them to be studied before human existence shall cease on earth. The lesson learned in eighteen centuries will at some future day seem a brief one.

The Pagan nations of our own time have as yet come in contact chiefly with the worst traits of Christian communities. They have seen wars²⁰ by Christians for selfish ends, and have not found models of virtue in the crews of ships visiting their shores. Patience will be requisite that evil lessons may be unlearned, and that Christianity may appear a religion of virtue and of hope.

NOTE R.

THE MINISTRY.

IN the first Christian congregations the office of teaching was not restricted to any one individual.¹ Several shared in

¹⁹ "The perihelion . . . of the earth's orbit accomplishes its revolution in one hundred and eleven thousand years." — *Mitchell, Planetary and Stellar Worlds*, p. 177.

²⁰ Our own country during a century of independent existence has waged but two foreign wars. One of these would not have occurred save for a privileged class no longer existing, who wished to extend the area of that institution, Slavery, on which their privileges were based.

¹ "He sent to Ephesus, and called the ELDERS of the church." — *Acts* 20, 17. "Take heed . . . to all the flock over the which the Holy Spirit hath made you *ἐπισκόπους*, BISHOPS [i. e. overseers]." — *Acts* 20, 28. The word overseers in the common version is the same which is elsewhere translated bishops. "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest . . . ordain ELDERS in every city. . . . For a BISHOP must be blameless." — *Titus* 1, 5, 7. "Paul . . . to all the consecrated in Philippi with the bishops and deacons." — *Philip.* 1, 1. "If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work." — *1 Tim.* 3, 1. "Likewise must the deacons be grave, not double-tongued." — *1 Tim.* 3, 8.

It will be noticed that in the last two instances the two classes of offi-

it. This plan was attended by some difficulties, to avoid which the custom was introduced of having but one teacher in each congregation. The latter plan has prevailed in most Protestant denominations, and has been so nearly universal that Christianity and the ministry have in the majority of minds become identified. Many persons would be mentally unable to dissociate the two, and the value of Christianity is estimated by them according to the worth of its supposed representatives and interpreters.

The Christian ministry has undoubtedly done excellent service, and been of importance to the religious progress of mankind.² It is at present, however, confronted by the following obstacle. In proportion as mankind become attentive to their moral and religious improvement, it becomes more and more impossible for any one human being to meet the wants of five hundred others.³ Those whom he addresses are, if thoughtful

cers recognized in a single society are bishops and deacons, the former of whom are in preceding quotations identified with elders.

At a later date **Jerome** says : " Among the ancients [i. e. the earliest Christians] bishops and presbyters were the same since the former name [that is, overseer] indicates the office, [while] the latter designates the age [of the incumbents]." — *Epist. 69 ad Oceanum. Opp.* **1**, col. 415 A, edit. Vallars. Again : " Therefore a presbyter is the same as a bishop, and before by prompting of the Devil rivalries took place in religious matters and people said : I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, the assemblies were governed by mutual agreement of the elders. But after each one thought those whom he had baptized to be his own [disciples], not Christ's, it was determined in the whole world that one selected from the elders should be placed above the others, to whom the whole care of the assembly should pertain, and [thus that] the seeds of division should be removed." — *Comment. ad Tit. 1, 7 : Opp.* **7**, Part. 1. col. 694, 695, edit. Vallars.

² The above remark must not be understood of the ministry while, or in so far as, its discourses were in an unknown tongue. The writer remembers listening to a lecture in which was quoted a regal admonition to the Anglican clergy, telling them to dispense with laziness and write their sermons in Latin. He has not had opportunity to hunt up this admonition, but thinks that it was issued by Charles II.

The literary folly which prompted such directions existed much later in European institutions of learning. Firmness equally as good sense may have been requisite in **Dr. George Campbell** when telling his pupils that he knew no reason why he should give himself more trouble in order to render his lectures less intelligible. " I should think it unpardonable to sacrifice the profit of the students to the parade of learning ; or to waste more time in composing, to no other end I may say, but to render the composition less useful." — *Lectures on Systemat. Theol.*, near close of Lecture 1.

³ The above-mentioned difficulty may be illustrated by supposing that

for their own improvement, growing in a variety of directions, and need aid of very different kinds in order to facilitate their progress.⁴ Even the same individual may within a brief period go through experience of different kinds and need aid in the subject of his or her thoughts rather than to have them diverted to something else.

in mental education a teacher were required to instruct pupils in Mathematics and Metaphysics, Astronomy and Architecture, Surgery and Civil Engineering, History and Hygiene, Jurisprudence, Ancient Languages, Natural History, and other branches of modern study. Could any one expect a satisfactory result?

⁴ Whoever studies the moral and religious wants of life will find them diversified. A business man, witnessing the various avenues for dishonesty and the disguises which screen it, will deem firmness of condemnation requisite to uphold business rectitude in the community, or to guard his own mind against indifference.

One placed so as to notice the need of encouragement and kind speech may see most call for attention to these and for illustration of the manner in which they can best be given.

A person brought up under erroneous views of religion, and who has suffered much from such views, will highly esteem the teachings which dispel error.

One engaged in study of the Scriptures will desire the suggestions or information that assist comprehension of them.

Those engaged in benevolent work see constant opportunities of good to be done; of children to be rescued from vice or suffering, and of mature persons to be aided while struggling to keep the right path. They long for teachings which may guide their efforts or call others to their aid.

Some, disheartened amid daily duties and distractions, feel the need of raising their thoughts to the Source of strength, and of finding in communion with the Father of their spirits serenity and new strength to encounter harassing cares. They need to be called away from daily occupations rather than to have them more vividly presented.

Blended, often at least, with the foregoing is a dissatisfaction due to incorrect views of life. Persons look on its avocations as interruptions rather than as aids to self-development. To this class correct views of life would be an inestimable boon.

Some have had questionings as to whether Jesus were or were not authorized to make a revelation, and to them the question may be one of painful importance. The evidence which they need must be of that kind which they are most competent to appreciate.

Others, aside perhaps from questions about the authorization of Jesus, are striving to look beyond the term of human existence here and to catch some glimpses of a future one. Considerations which may give them confidence will prove of great value.

Some are occupied in a contest with social evils. They have had friends or relatives carried to ruin, and are more intent on combating the evils of this life than on thoughts of a future one. They need in many cases wise counsel to prevent feeling from overriding judgment.

Of course many ministers could by methodical study of their congregations meet wants which now go unsupplied. Were a minister to provide a list of his parish, and to append opposite each name what he deemed the chief wants of that individual; were he also, by observation, thought, and conversation, to correct his own judgments and alter his memorandum accordingly, he would have sketched out before him an approximate map of his work. By such effort he would meet the wants of his people far more nearly than if his pulpit themes were taken from the last question mooted in theological and secular journals.

Still the difficulty cannot be ignored that only a person gifted with more than average observation and reflection, and with more than average capacity of conveying his ideas to others, can in a thoughtful congregation hope to meet even a majority of its wants. The question, therefore, arises whether the present plan of meeting such wants can be supplemented or improved.

Suppose in a small society a select library⁵ of religious and moral literature, with clear-headed discussions on the various duties of a human being to himself and his fellows, and let us suppose a portion of time set apart when the congregation should meet for silent perusal of what is best adapted to each one's wants. An Index should be provided to topics treated in the library. Prearrangement in pews of books suited to the wants of occupants would promote the quiet craved by devotion but scarcely attainable if each member visit the book-shelves in person.⁶

⁵ A suitable library ought of course to contain not merely the subjects mentioned in the preceding note, but many others not there suggested. For study of the Scriptures there should be translations, commentaries, concordances, Bible dictionaries, and other critical aids. In selecting translations it would be well to have such as were made on different plans. The rendering best suited to a scholar is by no means always that most fitted for the average reader.

Fiction on moral topics, though not to be excluded from such a library, should be admitted with the utmost caution. Miss Sedgwick's *Live and Let Live* treats one class of human duties more successfully than could be hoped for in most cases from the pulpit. But this is more than can be said for many works of fiction even when written with moral intent.

⁶ In the absence of printed Indexes some one might be employed to prepare a special Index for each library, or a dozen societies might conjointly employ some skilled person to make such a work. Printed Indexes would, however, soon come into existence if their want were generally felt. In them there should be marks to distinguish brief statements from copious articles.

The time devoted to silent reading should not preclude public devotional exercises, nor yet public instruction, which, in the absence of a minister, might be supervised by one or more members of the congregation.⁷

A chief risk with such a library would be the introduction of sensational works, dignified or not by the title of religious. A similar risk exists in the pulpit, but can there less readily than in a library escape attention from thoughtful members of the congregation. Much would depend on the judgment, attention, and earnest religious feeling of those by whom any such experiment were tried. A number of congregations, by communicating to each other the result of their experience, might eliminate mistakes and suggest improvements.

A different plan, free from some difficulties attending the foregoing, would be to establish as a custom, that the minister should on alternate Sundays, or oftener, instead of a discourse by himself read extracts from other writers on some moral or religious topic, accompanied, when desirable, with comments by himself. The congregation would thus get the subject presented by different minds, and the minister would have more leisure to prepare his own discourses.

Much could be culled from secular literature which would conduce to religious and moral improvement; which would tend to elevate human aims, quicken human affections, stimulate effort, nerve to endurance, strengthen courage, inspire patience, give vigor to conscience, awaken benevolence, nerve to fortitude, animate good purposes, and illustrate dimly-perceived truths. Pleasantries should of course be avoided, or anything likely to interfere with reverent and devout feeling.

Were a minister to insert a blank leaf at the close of each volume in his library and, while reading, note thereon any page or subject of interest, he could, if his library were a good one, by glancing over his memoranda, find in a few minutes what would edify his hearers.

A thoughtful layman with a good library could, by similar notes, often aid his pastor, or, in his absence, furnish for Sunday instruction what might prove more valuable than many a sermon.

⁷ Of course those best qualified to select hymns may not always be the ones best qualified to lead the singing. Those best qualified to decide on a discourse, or a series of extracts for public reading, may not be best qualified for reading aloud, and may need to intrust this duty to another.

ADDENDA.

Page 61, note. — The question may claim examination whether the scribe who added a conclusion (21, 23? 24, 25) to John's gospel, can be author of its proem (1, 1-18), which includes the use (1, 17), of Christ as a name, and the technical use of *Logos* (1, 1, 14) not elsewhere found in the Evangelist.

Page 183, note 1. — A pupil of Mosheim reasserts essentially the same error: "In these times [of the emperor Hadrian] and perhaps somewhat earlier ones, we may date the origin of those spurious writings which gradually appeared among the Christians in increasing number under the names of the most noted and excellent men, especially of those of the founders of Christianity." Schroeckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, 2, pp. 398, 399.

The lately recovered "Teaching of the [twelve?] Apostles" — cited from, without naming it, by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1, 20 (§ 100) — is no instance of this, but simply an intended summary of New Testament teaching, with no thought by its author of ascribing its compilation to any apostle or apostles. The word "twelve" is omitted from the title by Eusebius (*Ecc. Hist.* 3, 25) and by other ancient writers, and is probably an interpolation.

Page 193, note 12. — Melito's Apology contravenes (Routh, 1, p. 118, lines 22-24) the deification of Jesus. Anastasius, however, ascribes to him a work on *Christ's Incarnation*, which Eusebius, an earlier and safer authority, omits (*Ecc. Hist.* 4, 25) from the list of his works. If it be from Melito, and if Anastasius have not blended his own views into his quotation, it would indicate (Routh, 1, 121, line 16) a deification of the Master.

In a former edition reference was inadvertently made to Melito's work "*God embodied*," which had for a subject not the deity of Christ, but, as we learn from Origen (*Opp.* 2, 25, ed. de la Rue; 4, 49, ed. Lom.), the corporeal existence of God.

Page 211, note 14. — In Charlestown, Mass., John Codman was poisoned by his three slaves, of whom Phillis was in 1749 burned in Cambridge, while Phœbe, after turning State's evidence, was transported, and Mark was hung.

A narrative of the foregoing will, I am informed, be found in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. 12, note on p. 166.

ACTS OF PILATE

FROM A

TRANSCRIPT OF THE CODEX

DESIGNATED BY THILO

AS

PARIS D.



CAMBRIDGE:
JOHN WILSON AND SON.
University Press.
1887.

Copyright, 1881,
BY FREDERIC HUIDEKOPER.

PREFATORY NOTE.

IN 1856 the writer of these lines procured through F. W. Christern a collation of the Greek manuscript of the Acts of Pilate, which Thilo in his *Codex Apocryphus* has entitled Paris D. This collation was made by Fr. Duebner, editor of classics, and bears internal evidence of having been done with care and fidelity by an expert. The readings of the manuscript are often given incorrectly by Thilo, whom Tischendorf has followed in his "*Evangelia Apocrypha*," Leipsic, 1853; 2d ed. 1876.

Though the transcript of said Codex will only have a value for scholars, yet it seems but fair to those engaged in this kind of study that the result of the collation should be rendered accessible.

Emendations of the text in brackets, when not by Thilo, are, with one exception, by Mr. Duebner or Prof. E. Abbot. In the notes T. stands for Thilo, D. for Duebner, A. for Abbot, and H. for the present writer.

The orthography is intended to be a transcript from Paris D, including its errors.

The division into paragraphs is my own. The largest type is intended to represent what originally belonged to the document; the medium-sized type to represent interpolations of the second and third centuries. The smallest type represents the interpolations after the establishment of Christianity. On the first two of these classifications, however, compare *Indirect Testimony*, p. 107.

Dots have been inserted where the manuscript had evidently omitted something; and dashes have in some cases been inserted where a duplicate wording appeared, as in the use of $\theta\epsilon\omicron\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma$ for 'Ιουδαῖος , on which see *Judaism*, p. 342, and on pp. 462, 463, footnote 4.

Words with an asterisk appended exist only in an abbreviated form in the Codex.

The numbering of sections inserted in brackets may aid the reader in comparing the Greek with a translation on pp. 107-142 of *Indirect Testimony*.

The proof-sheets have been read by Prof. E. Abbot, whose care and competency are well known.

F. HUIDEKOPER.

MEADVILLE, Pa., August, 1881.

ACTS OF PILATE.

ΔΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΙΜΙΟΥ ΠΑΘΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ἩΜΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ἩΜΩΝ ἸΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ
ἈΓΙΑΣ Ἀττοῦ Ἀναστάσεως, ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΕΙΣΑ ΠΑΡΑ ἸΟΥ-
ΔΑΙΟΥ ἘΝΝΑΙΑ ὈΝΟΜΑΤΙ, ἮΝ ΜΕΤΗΝΕΓΚΕΝ ἘΚ ΤΗΣ
ἙΒΡΑΪΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΤΤΗΣ ἘΙΣ ῬΩΜΑΪΔΗ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΟΝ ΝΙΚΟ-
ΔΗΜΟΣ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗΣ ῬΩΜΑΙΟΣ.

Μετὰ τὸ καταλυθῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ἑβραίων, τετρακοσίων χρόνων
παραδραμούντων [παραδραμόντων], καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων τελούν-
των καὶ τῶν Ἑβραίων, τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως βασιλέα αὐτοῖς χειροτονούν-
τος· τοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ὕστερον τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ σκῆπτρα διέποντος, ἐν τῷ
ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ βασιλέα χειροτονήσαντος ἐν τῇ Ἰου-
δαίᾳ Ἡρώδην, τὸν υἱὸν Ἡρώδου, τοῦ πρὶν τὰ νήπια ἀποκτείναντος ἐν Βη-
θλεὲμ, καὶ τὸν Πιλάτον ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔχοντος ἡγεμόνα· τοῦ Ἄννα καὶ τοῦ
Καϊάφα τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐχόντων τοῖς [τῆς] Ἱερουσαλὴμ,

Νικόδημος τοπάρχης Ῥωμαῖος Ἰουδαίων [Ἰουδαῖον]
προσκαλεσάμενος Ἐνναία ὀνόματι, ἐζήτησε συγγρά-
ψασθαι τὰ κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα
πραχθέντα ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὃ δὲ καὶ
ποιήσας ὁ Ἰουδαῖος καὶ τῷ Νικοδήμῳ παραδούς, οὗτος
αὐθις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς συγγραφῆς μετήνεγκε ταῦτα
εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον. Ἐχει δὲ τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας
οὕτως.

[§ 1.] Τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ ἐξαίσια θαύματα ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐργασαμένου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φθονηθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἡγεμονεύοντος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοῦ Πιλάτου, ἀρχιερατευόντων δὲ τοῦ τε Ἀννα καὶ τοῦ Καϊάφα, ἦλθον ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ὁ Ἰούδας, Λευὶ, Νεφθαλεὶμ, Ἀλέξανδρος, Σύρος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ λέγοντες κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗς καὶ ἀπέστειλαν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀρχιερεῖς εἰπεῖν ταῦτα καὶ τῷ Πιλάτῳ ἡγεμόνι· οἱ καὶ ἀπελθόντες εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν· ὅτι ἄνθρωπος περιπατεῖ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ πατέρα ἔχων Ἰωσήφ λεγόμενον καὶ μητέρα Μαριὰν, ὀνομάζει δὲ αὐτὸν βασιλέα καὶ υἱὸν θεοῦ· καὶ Ἰουδαῖος ὢν ἀνατρέπει τὰς γραφὰς, καὶ καταλύει τὰ σάββατα.

Ἠρώτησεν οὖν ὁ ἡγεμὼν ὁ Πιλάτος μαθεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν, κατὰ τίνα τρόπον καταλύει τὰ σάββατα. Καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν οὗτοι λέγων [λέγοντες]· Ὅτι τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ἰατρεῦει ἐν σαββάτῳ. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· Εἰ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ὑγίεις ποιεῖ, οὐδὲν κακὸν ποιεῖ. Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Εἰ καλῶς ἐνήργει τὰς ἰατρείας, μικρὸν ἂν ἦν τὸ κακόν· μαγεία δὲ χρώμενος ποιεῖ ταύτας καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτοῦ. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· Τὸ ἰατρεύειν ἄρρωστον διαβολικὸν ἔργον οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ χάρισμα ἦν¹ ἐκ θεοῦ. Εἶπον οἱ Ἑβραῖοι· Δεόμεθα τῆς μεγαληότητός [μεγαλειότητος]² σου μετακαλέσασθαι αὐτόν, ὥς ἂν γνωρίσης ἀκριβῶς, ὅπερ λέγομεν. [§ 2.] ἐκβαλὼν οὖν ἡγεμὼν ὁ Πιλάτος τὸ μανδήλιον ἤτοι τὸ φακίλιον αὐτοῦ δέδωκεν ἐνὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν αὐτοῦ, Ῥαχαάβ ὀνόματι, ἡγουν τοῦ κούρσουρος [τῷ κούρσορι] αὐτοῦ, λέγων

¹ Deinde ἀλλὰ χάρισμα ἦν ἐκ θεοῦ, η tam ancipiti atque obscuro ductu, ut o esse possit, et ὃν legi. — D.

² Μεγαληότητος, i.e. μεγαλειότητος, non μεγαλότητος, quod male impressum. — D.

αὐτῷ· Ἐπελθε καὶ δεῖξον τοῦτο τῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ εἰπὲ αὐτῷ· Πιλάτος ὁ ἡγεμὼν καλεῖ σε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν. Ἀπήλθε τοίνυν ὁ ὑπηρέτης, καὶ εὐρὼν τὸν Ἰησοῦν

ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ τῶν βαΐων³ καθήμενον ἐπὶ ὄνου, καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ Ἑβραῖοι ἐστρώννον τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν, καὶ περιεπάτει ὁ ὄνος ἐπάνω τῶν ἱματίων. καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ ὑπηρέτης τὴν τοιαύτην τιμὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸς κατα^{*4} . . . γεγονῶς

προσεκαλείτο τοῦτον, ἀπλώσας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πιλάτου μανδῆλιον, καὶ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ περιπατεῖν αὐτὸν προτρεπόμενος. ὅπερ ἰδόντες οἱ Ἑβραῖοι καὶ μεγάλως ἀγανακτήσαντες, ἦλθον πρὸς ἡγεμόνα τὸν Πιλάτον, γογγύζοντες κατ' αὐτοῦ πῶς τοσαύτης τιμῆς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἡξίωσε. [§ 3.] καὶ οὗτος τὸν ἀποσταλέντα ὑπηρέτην ἰνερευνῆσας πῶς οὕτως ἐποίησεν, ἀπεκρίθη ὁ ὑπηρέτης λέγων· ὅτε με ἀπέστειλας πρὸς τὸν Ἰουδαῖον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐνέτειχον [ἐνέτυχον] τῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰσερχομένῳ τὴν πύλην τῆς πόλεως, καθημένῳ ἐπὶ ὄνου. καὶ εἶδον τοὺς Ἑβραίους ὅτι ἐστρωννον [ἐστρώννον] ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν, καὶ περιεπάτει ὁ ὄνος ἐπάνω τῶν ἱματίων· καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκκοπτον⁵ κλάδους καὶ ἐξήρχοντο εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔκραζον· ὡς ἀνὰ (sic) ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου. οὕτως οὖν ἔδει καὶ ἐμὲ ποιῆσαι· καὶ οὕτως ἐποίησα. Ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς λόγους τούτους, εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν· σὺ δὲ Ῥωμαῖος ὢν [ὦν], πῶς ἐγίνωσκας τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑβραίων λεγόμενα; Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ ὑπηρέτης καὶ εἶπεν· ἕνα ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἠρώτησα, καὶ εἶπέν μοι ταῦτα. Εἶπεν ὁ Πιλάτος· καὶ τί λέγει ὡς ἀνὰ; Εἶπον οἱ

³ Thilo dedit κυριακῇ τῶν Ἑβραίων, quod subabsurdum est, pro nitida codicis scriptura κυριακῇ τῶν βαίων. — D.

⁴ Κατα* (in fine lineæ) γεγονῶς (ut aliquid excidisse vel vitiatum esse appareat), προσεκαλείτο. — D.

⁵ Sic, sine augm. — D. Legendum ἐκοπτον. Augmentum adest, κ duplicato. — A.

Ἰουδαῖοι· σῶσον ἡμᾶς, κύριε. Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Πιλάτος· ἐπεὶ ὁμολογεῖται [ὁμολογεῖτε], ὅτι οὕτως ἔλεγον οἱ ἀπειρόκακοι παῖδες ὑμῶν, πῶς νῦν κατηγορεῖτε καὶ λέγετε κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅσα λέγετε; Ἐσιώπησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ οὐδὲν εἶχον ἀντιπεῖν [ἀντειπεῖν].

Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ προσεκαλέσατο ὁ Ἰησοὺς οὓς ἠθέληεν· καὶ ἀπήλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἑβ', ἵνα ὥσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἵνα ἀποστέλλει [ἀποστέλλῃ] αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ἥρξατο δὲ καινὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι, τοῦ καταλύειν τὰ σάββατα τὴν κατάπανσιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἣν εἶχον ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ διαθήκῃ ἀπὸ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Μωυσέως· εἴ τις Ἰουδαῖος τέθνηκεν ἐν σαββάτῳ, οὐκ ἔθαπτον αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοὺς βουλόμενος πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον ἐκείνων, ἐν σαββάτῳ τὸν παράλυτον συνέσφιγξεν· τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου τὴν θυγατέραν (sic) τὴν αἰμορροῦσαν [αἱμορροοῦσαν] ἰάσατο ἐν σαββάτῳ· τὸν τυφλὸν, τὸν λεπρὸν, καὶ δαιμονιῶντα [δαιμονιῶντα] καὶ νεκρὸν ἐν σαββάτῳ αὐτοὺς ἰάσατο· ἐν σαββάτῳ τὸν Ἀάξαρρον τετραήμερον ἤγειρε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐζήτουν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τότε ὁ λαὸς πᾶς ἠκολούθη [ἠκολούθει] αὐτῷ· — διότι τετραήμερον σεσέποτε [σεσηπότα] ἤγειρε, τότε εἰς φθόνον ἐκίνησαν [ἐκινήθησαν?]; οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι·

καὶ ὡς φησὶν—ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης—τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία· τότε δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Λαζάρου· ὁ Ἰησοὺς ἐκλήθη ἐν οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος τοῦ λεπροῦ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα φάγῃ μετ' αὐτοῦ. αὐτοῦ ἀνακειμένου, ἦλθεν γυνὴ ἀλάβαστρον μύρον ἔχοντα [ἔχουσα], καὶ κατέχευεν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. Ἰδὼν δὲ Ἰούδας ὁ μελλων παραδοῦσαι (sic cod.) τοῦτον, εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ· ἡδύνατο τοῦτο τὸ μύρον πραθῆναι πολλοῦ, καὶ δωθῆναι πτωχοῖς. Εἶπε δὲ τοῦτο, οὐχ ὅτι περὶ τῶν πτωχῶν ἐμελλεν [ἐμελεν] αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ὅτι κλέπτῃς ἦν καὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον εἶχε, καὶ τὰ βαλλόμενα ἐβάσταζεν. Γινὼς δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν δόλον ὁ Ἰησοὺς, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη καλὸν ἔργον ἡγάσαστο [εἰργάσαστο], καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιάσαι με πεποιήκει· τὸς πτωχοὺς πάντοτε ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε. Τότε πορευθεὶς εἰς τῶν ἑβ' λεγόμενος Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριότης (sic), καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς εἶπεν· τί θελετέ μοι δοῦναι; καὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν παραδῶσω αὐτόν. Οἱ δὲ ἔσθψαν αὐτῷ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια. Ἀπὸ τότε ἐζήτει ὁ Ἰούδας εὐχερίαν (sic), ἵνα αὐτὸν παραδῷ. Ὀψίας

δὲ αὐτῷ (sic) ἀνέκειτο ὁ Ἰησοὺς μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα. τότε ἐγερθεὶς καὶ λαβὼν λέντιον, διέζωσεν ἑαυτόν· εἶτα βάλλει ὕδωρ εἰς τὸν νυπτήρα [νιπτήρα]· καὶ ἤρξαντο [ἤρξατο] νυπτειν [νίπτειν] ὁ Ἰησοὺς τοὺς πόδας τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν· ὁ θέλων πρῶτος εἶναι, ἔσται πάντων ἔσχατος. Τότε δὲ ἔνυψε [ἐνιψε] πρῶτον τὸν Ἰούδα, εἶτα τοὺς ἄλλους μαθητάς· καὶ ἤρξατο ἐκμάσσειν τῷ λεντίῳ ὃ ἦν διεζωσμένος. τότε εἶπεν· ὑμεῖς καθαροὶ ἐστέ, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πάντες. Εἶπε δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τὸν Ἰούδα. φησὶν δὲ ἄλλιν πρὸς αὐτοὺς αὐθις· γινώσκετε τί πεποιήκα ὑμῖν; ὑπόδειγμα δέδωκα, ἵνα καθὼς ἐποίησα ὑμῖν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήτε. ἔχων δὲ καθαρὰν ἀγάπην καὶ ταπεινῶσιν εἰς πάντας· εἰ ποιεῖτε ταῦτα, μακάριοι ἐστέ. Τότε ἐκάθισαν [ἐκάθισαν] καὶ ἐσθίειν τὸ πᾶσχα· καὶ λαβὼν τὸν ἄρτον ὁ Ἰησοὺς, εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασε, καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς, καὶ εἶπεν· λάβετε, φάγετε, τούτο ἐστιν (sic) τὸ σῶμά μου. καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον, εὐλογήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, τούτο ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης. Τότε λέγει αὐτῶν (sic)· εἰς

ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με. Τότε ἕκαστος ἤρξατο λέγειν· μήτι ἐγώ εἰμι, κύριε; ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ὁ ἐμβάψας μετ' ἐμοῦ τὴν χεῖρα ἐν τῷ τριβλίῳ [τρυβλίῳ], οὗτός με παραδώσει. καὶ ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει, καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ· οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκεῖνῳ δι' οὗ μέλλω παραδίδοσθαι· καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐκεῖνος. Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας ὁ παραδίδους αὐτὸν εἶπε· μή τι ἐγώ εἰμι, ῥαμβί (sic); Λέγει αὐτῷ· σὺ εἶπας. Τότε ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ Ἰούδας. κἀκεῖνοι ἦλθον εἰς ὅρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν. εἶπε δὲ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς σκανδαλισθήσεσθε ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ. Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· εἰ πάντες σκανδαλισθήσονται ἐν σοί, ἐγὼ οὐδέποτε σκανδαλισθήσομαι. Ἐφῆν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἀμὴν λέγω σοι ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ πρὶν ἀλέκτωρα [ἀλέκτορα] φωνῆσαι τρεῖς [τρὶς] ἀπαρνήσῃ με. Ἐφῆν αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος· εἰ ἔλθω τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν, οὐ μὴ σ' ἀπαρνήσομαι. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ μαθηταὶ εἶπον. Τότε ἔρχεται μετ' αὐτῶν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς χωρίον λεγόμενον Γεθσημανή, πέραν τοῦ χειμάρρου [χειμάρρου] τῶν καϊδρων [καϊδρων], ὅπου ἦν κύπος [κῆπος]· καὶ λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· καθίσατε αὐτοῦ ἕως ἀπέλθω· προσεύξομαι ὑμεῖς. καὶ παραλαβὼν τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς Ζεβεδαίου, ἤρξατο λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδμονεῖν. Τότε λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· περίλυπος ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου· μείνατε ὧδε καὶ γρηγορεῖτε μετ' ἐμοῦ. καὶ προσελθὼν [προελθὼν?] μικρὸν, ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ προσευχόμενος καὶ λέγων· πάτερ μου, εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν (sic) παρελθέτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο· πλὴν οὐχ ὡς ἐγὼ θέλω, ἀλλ' ὡς σὺ. Ὡφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, ἐνισχύων αὐτόν. καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἁγωνίᾳ, ἐκτενέστερον προσηύξατο. ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ ἰδρῶς αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ θρομβοὶ αἵματος καταβαίνειν [καταβαίνων? καταβαίνοντες?] ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τῆς προσευχῆς ἔρχεται πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς· καὶ εὐρίσκει αὐτοὺς καθευδόντας· καὶ λέγει τῷ Πέτρῳ· οὗτος (sic) οὐκ ἰσχύσατε μίαν ὥραν ἀγρυπνεῖσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ· γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθαι [προσεύχεσθε], ἵνα

μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς πειρασμόν· τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενεὶς [ἀσθενής]. Πάλιν δὲ ἐκ δευτέρου ἀπελθὼν προσηύξατο λέγων· Πάτερ μου, εἰ οὐ δύναται τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἐλθεῖν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἔαν μὴ πῶ αὐτῷ [αὐτῷ], γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου. καὶ ἔλθων εὐρίσκει αὐτοὺς πάλιν καθευδόντας· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν βεβαριμένοι [βεβαρημένοι] ὑπνῳ. καὶ ἀφείς αὐτοὺς, ἀπελθὼν πάλιν προσηύξατο ἐκ τρίτου τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἰπὼν. τότε ἔρχεται πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· καθεύδεται [καθεύδεται] τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι [ἀναπαύεσθε]. Ἰδῆ [Ἰδεῖ] δὲ καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ παραδίδους . . . τὸν τόπον, ὅτι πολλάκις συνῆλθεν¹. . . χαίρων πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς. Γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸ μέλλον τι [τὰ μέλλοντα] γενέσθαι (sic) κατὰ τὸ ὀρισμένον [ὠρισμένον], λέγει τῶν μαθητῶν (sic) αὐτοῦ· Ἰδοὺ ἡγγικεν ἡ ὥρα· καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς χεῖρας ἁμαρτωλῶν· ἐγείρεσθαι [ἐγείρεσθε], ἀγῶμεν ἐντεῦθεν· ἰδοὺ ἡγγικεν ὁ παραδίδους με. καὶ ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος, ἰδοὺ Ἰούδας, εἰς τῶν ἑβ', λαβὼν τὴν σπεῖραν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ Φαρισαίων ὑπηρέτας, ἔρχεται ἐκεῖ μετὰ φανῶν καὶ λαμπάδων καὶ ὀπλων, καὶ ἦλθεν μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄχλος πολὺς μετὰ μαχαίρων καὶ ξύλων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων τοῦ λαοῦ. ὁ δὲ παραδίδους αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς σημεῖον λέγων· ὃν ἂν φιλήσω, αὐτός ἐστι· κρατήσατε αὐτόν. Ἰησοῦς οὖν ἰδὼς [εἰδὼς] πάντα τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἐπ' αὐτόν, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τίνα ζητεῖτε; Ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ· Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἐγώ εἰμι. ἰστική [Εἰστήκει] δὲ καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ παραδίδους αὐτόν μετ' αὐτοῖς. Ὡς οὖν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι, ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὀπίσω καὶ ἔπεσον χαμαί. καὶ πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐπηρώτησεν· τίνα ζητεῖτε; εἰ [οἱ] δὲ εἶπον· Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον. Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν· ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι ὃν ζητεῖτε, καὶ ἄφετε τούτους ὑπάγειν· ἵνα πληρωθῇ [πληρωθῇ] ὁ λόγος ὃν εἶπεν ὅτι οὓς δέδωκάς μοι, οὐκ ἀπόλεσα [ἀπώλεσα] ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδένα. καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἰούδας προσελθὼν τῷ Ἰησοῦ εἶπεν· χαίρε ῥαμβή (sic), καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτὸν [αὐτόν]. Ὁ

¹ Sic. Aliqua post συνῆλθεν omissa sunt. — D. Post παραδίδους omissum est αὐτόν; cf. Joh. xviii. 2. — A.

δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἑτέροι [ἑταίρει], ἐφ' ᾧ πάρεῖ; Τότε προσελθόντες ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἐκράτησαν αὐτόν. Τότε εἰς τὸν μαθητὴν Σίμων Πέτρος ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας, ἀπέσπασεν τὴν μάχαιραν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πατάξας τὸν δούλον τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἀφίλεν [ἀφείλεν] αὐτοῦ τὸ ὠτίον τὸ δεξιόν· ἦν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ δούλῳ ἐκείνῳ Μάλλχῳ· καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῦ τῶν μαθητῶν [sic]· ἔαται [ἐάτε] ἕως τούτου· καὶ ἀψάμενος τοῦ ὠτίου αὐτοῦ, ἰάσατο αὐτόν, τῷ δὲ Πέτρῳ λέγει· ἀποστρεψόν σου τὴν μάχαιραν εἰς τὸν τόπον

αὐτῆς· πάντες οἱ λαβόντες μάχαιραν ἐν μάχαιρα ἀποθανοῦνται· εἰ [ἦ?] δοκῆς [δοκεῖς] ὅτι οὐ δύναμαι παρακαλέσαι τὸν πατέρα μου, καὶ παραστήσῃ [-σει] μοι πλείους ἢ δώδεκα λεγεώνας ἀγγέλων, πῶς οὖν πληρωθῶσιν αἱ γραφαὶ τῶν προφητῶν, ὅτι οὗτος [οὕτως] δεῖ γενέσθαι; Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς ὄχλοις· ὡς ἐπὶ ληστῇ ἐξήλθετε μετὰ μαχαιρῶν καὶ ξύλων συλλαβεῖν με· καθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐκαθεζόμενον διδάσκων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ οὐκ ἐκρατήσατέ με. ἰδοὺ αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ὥρα ὑμῶν τῶν ἐσκοτισμένων [ἐσκοτισμένων].

Τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῶσιν αἱ γραφαὶ τῶν προφητῶν. Ἱερεμίας ὁ προφήτης εἶπεν· δεῦτε καὶ ἐμβάλωμεν ξύλον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκστρέψωμεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γῆς ζώντων. καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ μνησθῇ ἔτι [ἔτι]· κύριε* τῶν δυνάμεων, κρίναι [κρίναι? κρίνε] δίκαια. Ζαχαρίας ὁ προφήτης εἶπεν· τὸν νότον [νῶτον] μου ἔδωκα εἰς μάστιγας, τὰς δὲ σιαγῶνας [σιαγῶνας] μου εἰς ῥαπίσματα· τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου οὐκ ἀπέστρεψα ἀπὸ αἰσχύνῃς ἐμπυτσμάτων· καὶ κύριος ἐγεννήθη βοηθός μου. καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς εἶπεν· ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἄκακος ἐναντίων [ἐναντίον] τοῦ κήραντος [κείραντος] αὐτόν, οὕτως ἄφρωνος οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ· ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθε [ἤρθη]· τὴν δὲ γενεάν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται; Ὅτι αἵρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ. [Compare p. 27.]

Τότε οἱ μαθηταὶ πάντες ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἔφυγον.

Εἰς οὖν ὁ χιλιάρχος καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται τῶν Ἰουδαίων συνέλαβον τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀνήγαγον αὐτόν πρὸς Αἰννα [sic] πρῶτον· ἦν γὰρ πενθερὸς τοῦ Καϊάφα, ὅς ἦν ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ἐναντιοῦ ἐκείνου· ἦν δὲ Καϊάφας ὁ συμβουλευσας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ὅτι συμφέρεῖ ἕνα ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ. Ὁ οὖν ἀρχιερεὺς ἠρώτησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν

περὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ περὶ τῆς διδαχῆς αὐτοῦ, λέγων· ποῦ οἱ μαθηταὶ σου οἱ καυχόμενοι [καυχώμενοι] συναποθνήσκουσιν σοι; ποῦ οἱ παρὰ σοῦ ἰαθέντες; πῶς οὐχ εὐρέθη τις βοηθῆσαι [βοηθήσας? βοηθήσαι?] σοι;

Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ παρησίᾳ ἐλάλησα τῷ κόσμῳ, ἐγὼ πάντα ἐδίδαξα ἐν συναγωγῇ, ὅπου Ἰουδαῖοι συνήρχοντο, καὶ

ἐν κρυπτῷ ἐλάλησα οὐδέν. τί με ἐπερωτᾷς; ἐπερώτησον τοὺς ἀκροκώτας, τί ἐλάλησα αὐτοῖς, καὶ οὗτοι οἶδασιν ἃ εἶπον ὑμῖν. Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος, εἰς τῶν ὑπηρέτων παρεστῆκώς ἔδωκεν ῥάπισμα τῷ Ἰησοῦ, εἰπὼν· οὗτος² ἀποκρίνει [ἀποκρίνη] τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ; ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ἐὰν κακῶς ἐλάλησα, μαρτύρησον περὶ τοῦ κακοῦ· ἡ [εἰ] δὲ καλῶς, τί με δέρης [δέρεις]; Καὶ οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ Μάλλχος, ἐκείνος ὃν [οὗ?] ὁ Πέτρος ἀφίλεν [ἀφείλεν] τὸ ὠτίον αὐτοῦ τὸ δεξιόν ἐν τῷ κύπῳ [κῆπῳ], καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἰάσατο αὐτόν· διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἐράπησεν [ἐράπισεν] τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς ἱατρικῆς αὐτοῦ.

Τότε ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν πρὸς Καϊάφαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα, ὅπου οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι συνήχθησαν· ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἠκούθει αὐτῷ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἕως τῆς αὐλῆς

¹ Προ ἡ οὖν [σπεῖρα καὶ] quæ omitta. — D.

² οὕτως. — H.

τοῦ ἀρχιερέως • εἰσῆλθε δὲ ἔσω μετὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἰδεῖν τὸ τέλος.

Οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον ἐξήτουν ψευδομαρτυρίαν, θανατῶσαι αὐτὸν, καὶ οὐχ εὖρον. Τότε ἦλθον δύο ψευδομάρτυρες [καί] εἶπον· οὗτος εἶπεν· δύναμαι καταλύσαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν οἰκοδομήσαι αὐτόν. εἶρεσεν (*sic*) δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ στόματος (*sic*)¹ τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Καὶ ἀναστὰς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνη τοι (*sic*) οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν; Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐσιώπα. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς πάλιν ἀρχιερεὺς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἐξωρκίζω [ἐξορκίζω] σε κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζώντος ἵνα ἡ μὴν² εἴπῃς· σὺ εἰ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ; Λέγει αὐτῷ· σὺ εἶπας· πλὴν λέγω σοι· ἀπάρτι ὤψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν [δεξιῶν] τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Τότε ἀρχιερεὺς (*sic*, *sine* ὃ) διέρρηξε τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ λέγων· οὐ ἐβλασφημῶσιν [ἐβλασφημήσιν]· τί ἔτι χρειάν ἔχουμεν [ἐχομεν] μαρτύρων; Οἱ δὲ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπον· ἐνοχος θανάτου ἐστίν. Τότε ἐνέπτυσαν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκολάφισαν [ἐκολά-

φισαν] αὐτὸν, καὶ ἑρράπιζον αὐτὸν λέγοντες· προφῆτευσον ἡμῖν, Χριστὲ, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παίσας σε.

Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἔξω ἐκάθητο ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, καὶ ἐθερμένετο [ἐθερμαίνεται] ἐν τῇ ἀνθρακίᾳ, διότι ψυχὸς ἦν. καὶ προσήλθεν αὐτῷ μία παιδίσκη λέγουσα· καὶ σὺ ἤσθα μετὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Γαλιλαίου. Ὁ δὲ ἡρνήσατο λέγων· οὐκ οἶδα τί λέγεις. Ἐκ δευτέρου ἦλθεν ἄλλη καὶ λέγει τοῖς ὑπηρέταις· ἐκεῖ καὶ οὗτος ἦν μετὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου. Καὶ πάλιν ἡρνήσατο μεθ' ὅρκου· οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἦλθεν εἰς τῶν δούλων τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, συγκαίνης [συγγενῆς] οὗ ἀπέκοψεν Πέτρος τὸ ὠτίον αὐτοῦ, καὶ λέγει· οὐκ ἐγὼ σε εἶδον ἐν τῷ κύπῳ [κῆψῳ] μετ' αὐτοῦ; εἶπε ἀληθῶς, καὶ σὺ ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἰ; καὶ γὰρ ἡ λαλιά σου δῆλον σε ποιεῖ. Τότε ἤρξατο καταναθεματίζειν καὶ ὀμνύειν ὅτι οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησε· καὶ ἐμνήσθη εὐθὺς ὁ Πέτρος τοῦ ῥήματος Ἰησοῦ, εἰρηκτός αὐτοῦ·³ ὅτι πρὶν ἀλέκτορ [ἀλέκτορα] φωνῆσαι * τρεῖς ἀπαρνῆσαι [τρίς ἀπαρνῆσθαι] με. Καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἔξω, ἐκλαυσεν πικρῶς.

Τότε ἄγουσιν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνα τὸν Πιλάτου· ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ πρωΐ.

Καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰούδας — ὅτι καὶ — πῶς ἤγαγον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐνώπιον τοῦ Πιλάτου, ἐν τρώμῳ καὶ δηλῇ [δειλίᾳ] ἐκατεκρίθη (*sic*) διὰ τῆς αἰσχρᾶς ἐπιβουλίας αὐτοῦ· καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀπογνώσει μεταμεληθεὶς βουλόμενος ἀποστρέφαι τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τῶν Ἰουδαίων· καὶ γνοὺς (*sic*) [γνόντες] αὐτὸν, οἱ κακοῦργοι καὶ οἱ κατήγοροι τὸ ἔπερ βούλεται ὁ Ἰούδας ποιῆσαι, λέγουσιν [λέγουσιν] κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁμοφώνως, ἅμα καὶ ὁ λαὸς αὐτὸν καὶ μόνον ἐκατηγόρουσιν καὶ ὕβριζον· καὶ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐτίθησαν⁴ τῆς στανυρώσεως·⁵ καὶ κατεβόουν (*sic*) αὐτοῦ πάντες καὶ ἔλεγον· ὁ προδότης, ὁ παράνομος, ὁ ἄπιστος, ὁ ἀχάριστος, ὁ τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ φονεύσας, ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας νιπτόμενος, ὁ τὸ βαλάντιον αὐτοῦ κατέχων, καὶ ὅσα θέλων (*sic*) διδοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅσα θέλων ἀποκρυπτόμενος. ἐφ' ἧς⁶ οὗτος ἀγανακτῶν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος τοὺς ὀνειδισμοὺς ὑπομεῖναι καὶ ταῖς

¹ στόματος. — H.

² ἡμῖν. — H.

³ αὐτῷ. — H.

⁴ Horum de Juda pars certe posterius illata videtur, ob sermonis manifestam imparitatem. — D.

⁵ No crucifixion or condemnation to it had yet taken place, — a fact overlooked by the interpolator of these five lines. — H.

⁶ οἷς. — D. Or ἧς may refer to αἰτίαν, preceding the interpolation. — H.

ἀκοαῖς, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ πάντων κατακρινόμενος καὶ ὑβριζόμενος, παραγενόμενος ἐν τῷ ναῷ, καὶ εὐρών τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς γραμματεῖς καὶ τοὺς Φαρισαίους, εἶπεν· γινώσκω ἀληθῶς, ὅτι κακῶς ἐποίησα· καὶ λάβετε τὰ ἀργύρια ἃ μοι δεδώκατε διὰ τὸ προδοῦναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν πρὸς θάνατον ὑμῶν. ἤμαρ γὰρ παραδοὺς αἷμα ἀθῶον. Οἱ δὲ εἶπον· τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς; σὺ ὄψει. Μὴ θελόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων δέξασθαι τὰ ἀργύρια, ῥίψας ταῦτα μέσον αὐτῶν καὶ ἔφυγε.

καὶ ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, ποιῆσαι (sic) ἀγχόνην διὰ σχοινίον τοῦ κρεμασθῆναι, καὶ εὗρεν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καθημένην καὶ πυρεάζειν (sic) ἀλέκτωραν (sic) ἐν τῇ ἀνθρακίᾳ ἔστω (sic; ἐς τὸ?) ἐν τῇ σοῦβλα (sic),¹ πρὸς τοῦ (sic; πρό τοῦ?) γεῦσασθαι αὐτὸν, καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ· ἀνάστα, γύναι, οἰκονόμησόν μοι σχοινίον, ὅτι βούλομαι κρεμασθῆναι,² ὥς κ . . . τ'. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐφῆ αὐτῷ·³ τί ἄρα λέγεις ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα; Καὶ ὁ Ἰούδας λέγει αὐτῇ· γίνωσκε ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, ὅτι ἀδικῶς παρέδωκα τὸν διδάσκαλόν μου Ἰησοῦν τοῖς κακούργοις (sic) πρὸς τὸν Πιλά-

τον τοῦ θανάτῳσαι αὐτόν· αὐτὸς δὲ μέλλει ἀναστήσεται (sic) τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· καὶ οὐαὶ ἡμῖν. Καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· μὴ λέγειν (sic) μηδὲ νομήσας (sic)⁴ οὕτως, ὅτι ὥσπερ οὗτος ὁ ἀλέκτωρ πυριαζόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀνθρακίᾳ φωνῆσαι δύναται, οὕτως καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀναστήσεται ὥσπερ λέγεις. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ λογῷ αὐτῆς ὁ ἀλέκτωρ ἐκεῖνος ἔδωκεν (sic) τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔκραζεν τρίτον. Εἶτα πισθεῖς [πεισθεῖς] ὁ Ἰούδας ἔτι πλείον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐποίησεν τὴν ἀγχόνην διὰ σχοινίου

καὶ ἐκρεμάσθη, καὶ οὕτως ἀπήγγεστο. Οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς λαβόντες τὰ ἀργύρια εἶπον· οὐκ ἔξεστιν βαλεῖν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν κορβανά, ὅτι ἐπὶ τιμῇ αἱματός ἐστιν. Συμβούλιόν τε λαβόντες ἡγόρασαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως εἰς ταφὴν τοῖς ξένοις· διὸ ἐκλήθη ὁ ἀγρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀγρὸς αἱματος ἕως τῆς σήμερον. Τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφῆτου λέγοντος· καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετιμημένου, ὃν ἐτιμάσαντο⁵ ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ· καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως, καθὰ συνέταξέ μοι κύριος.⁶

[§ 4.] Ἐρχομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα Πιλάτου

προσεκύνουν αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ Πιλάτου·

ἴσταντο καὶ ἄλλοι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Πιλάτου κατέχοντες σημαίας, ἔκλιναν [ἐαυτὰς] καὶ αἱ σημαῖαι, καὶ προσεκύνουν τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Θαυμάζοντος οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι τοῦ

¹ In margine in rubrica scriptum: ἔκραζεν ἀλέκτωρ ἐψιμένος [ἐψημένος]. — D.

² κ (ut videtur) . . . τ'. (locus prorsus abrasus 4 vel 5 literarum). — D. Codex Veneris legit ὥς ἦν ἄξιος. Vide Thilonem, Cod. Apoc., p. cxxix. — A.

³ Between αὐτῷ· and τί the word λέγων is written, and erased. — H.

⁴ Legendum νομίσαι, nisi potius λέγε et νομίσης. — A.

⁵ Vel ἐτιμώσαντο ductu ancipiti. — D.

⁶ In loco detrito ☿ solum conspicitur. — D.

Πιλάτου εἶπον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς αὐτόν· κύριε, οὐχὶ τὰ σημεῖα προσεκύνησαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἀλλ' οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ταῦτα κατέχοντες ἀμελῶς. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος τῷ ἀρχισυναγῶγῳ· Ἔκλεξαι ἄνδρας δυνατοὺς δώδεκα, ὥστε κατέχειν αὐτὰ ἰσχυρῶς. Καὶ τούτου γενομένου ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Πιλάτος τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ ἐκβαλεῖν ἔξω τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ πάλιν εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτόν. Εἰσερχομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ, πάλιν ἔκλιναν τὰ σημεῖα καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτόν.

Ἐθαύμασεν οὖν μεγάλως ὁ Πιλάτος. Οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι εἶπον· Μάγος ἐστὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ποιεῖ αὐτά [ταῦτα].

[§ 5.]¹ Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος τῷ Ἰησοῦ· Ἀκούεις, τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσι, καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρίνεις [ἀποκρίνῃ]; Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ λέγει· Πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἐξουσίαν ἔχει τοῦ λαλεῖν ἃ θέλει, εἴτε καλὸν θέλει εἴτε κακὸν· ἔχοντες οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξουσίαν ἃ θέλουσι λέγειν.

[§ 6.] Εἶπον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς αὐτόν· Τί ἔχωμεν [ἔχομεν] λέγειν περὶ σοῦ; πρῶτον, ὅτι ἐξ ἁμαρτίας εἰ γεγεννημένος· δεύτερον, ὅτι διὰ σέ, ὅτε ἐγεννήθης, ἐφονεύθησαν τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες βρέφη· τρίτον, ὅτι ὁ πατήρ σου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ σου ἐφυγον εἰς Αἴγυπτον, διὸ οὐδὲν εἶχον θάρρος εἰς τὸν λαόν. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι — οἱ παρόντες ἐκεῖσε θεοσεβεῖς ἄνθρωποι — καὶ εἶπον· Ἡμεῖς λέγομεν, ὅτι ἡ γέννησις αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἁμαρτίας οὐκ ἔστιν· οἶδαμεν γάρ, ὅτι τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Μαριὰν ὁ Ἰωσήφ κατὰ λόγον μνηστείας ἐδέξατο ταύτην εἰς τήρησιν. Εἶπεν ὁ Πιλάτος· Λοιπὸν ψεύδεσθε ὑμεῖς οἱ λέγοντες, ὅτι ἐξ ἁμαρτίας ἐστὶν ἡ γέννησις αὐτοῦ.

Λέγουσιν αὐτοὶ πάλιν τῷ Πιλάτῳ· Ὁ λαὸς ὅλος μαρτυρεῖ, ὅτι μάγος ἐστίν. Ἀπεκρίθησαν — οἱ θεοσεβεῖς — οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ εἶπον· Ἡμεῖς

καὶ εἰς τὴν μνηστείαν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἤμεθα, καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐσμεν, καὶ

πᾶσαν τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ οἶδαμεν, ἀλλὰ μάγον τοῦτον εἶναι οὐκ οἶδαμεν.

Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντες θεοσεβεῖς ἦσαν οὗτοι· Λάζαρος, Ἀσθάριος, Ἀντώνιος, Ἰάκωβος, Ζαράς, Σαμουὴλ, Ἰσαὰκ, Φινεὲς, Κρίσπος, Δάγριπος [Δάγριππος], Εὐμεσσὲ καὶ Ἰούδας. Λέγει οὖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Πιλάτος· Εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος θέλω ἵνα ὁμώσητε, εἰ χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας ἐστὶν ἡ γέννη-

¹ The special subject of § 5, a message from Pilate's wife, is not found in Paris D. — H.

σις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου. Ἀπεκρίθησαν οὗτοι καὶ εἶπαν· Ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν ὀρίζει ἵνα μηδὲν ὁμνῶμεν, ὅτι μεγάλη ἁμαρτία ἐστὶν ὁ ὅρκος· πλὴν δὲ εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁμνῶμεν, ὅτι χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας ἐστὶν ἡ γέννησις αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ ψευδόμεθα, κατατομηθῆναι πάντας ἡμᾶς κέλευσον.

Ταῦτα τούτων εἰπόντων ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς Πιλάτον καὶ εἶπον· Καὶ πλέον πιστεύεις τοῖς τοιούτοις δώδεκα μόνοις Ἰουδαίοις, ἢ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς εἰδόσιν αὐτὸν μάγον καὶ βλασφημοῦντα, καὶ υἱὸν θεοῦ ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζοντα.

[§ 7.] Τότε ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Πιλάτος πάντας ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πραιτωρίου ἄνευ μόνων τῶν ρηθέντων δώδεκα· καὶ τούτου γενομένου λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς κρυφίως ὁ Πιλάτος· Τὸν ἄνθρωπον τούτον — κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον ἄρχοντες — φέρεται [φαίνεται] μοι, ὅτι ἀπὸ φθόνου καὶ μανίας θέλουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἵνα φονεύσωσιν αὐτόν· ἕνα [ἐν] γὰρ, διότι καταλύει τὰ σάββατα, κατηγοροῦσιν αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς δὲ τότε ποιεῖ καλὸν ἔργον, διότι θεραπεύει τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς· τοῦτο καταδίκη θανάτου εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἔστιν. Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ δώδεκα· Ναὶ, κύριέ μου, οὕτως ἔχει. Ἐξῆλθεν οὖν ὁ Πιλάτος ἔξω μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ θυμοῦ, καὶ λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἀνναν καὶ τὸν Καϊάφαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν λαόν· καὶ εἶπεν τοῦ ὄχλου ὃν ἤφερον¹ τὸν Ἰησοῦν· Τίνα κατηγορίαν φέρετε κατὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου; μάρτυρα ἔχω τὸν ἥλιον, ὅτι οὐδὲν πταῖσμα εὗρίσκω εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ ὄχλος καὶ εἶπεν· εἰ [μὴ ἦν²] οὗτος γόης καὶ μάγος καὶ βλάσφημος καὶ κακοποιός, οὐκ ἂν πρὸς τὸ μεγαλεῖον τὸ σὺν ἡγομεν αὐτὸν καὶ παρεδώκαμεν. Εἶπεν ὁ Πιλάτος· Ἐξετάσατε τοῦτον ὑμεῖς, καὶ ἐπεὶ νόμον ἔχετε, καθὼς λέγει ὁ νόμος ὑμῶν, οὕτως ποιήσατε. Εἶπον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν οὐδένα ἄνθρωπον παραχωρεῖ ἡμᾶς φονεῦσαι. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· Εἰ ὑμεῖς φονεύειν οὐ βούλεσθε, πόσον [πόσῳ] μᾶλλον ἐγώ;

Τότε ἐστράφη ὁ Πιλάτος ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, καὶ ἐφώνησε τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ

¹ ὅς ἔφερε. — T. Perhaps τοῖς ὄχλοις (or τῷ ὄχλῳ) οἱ ἔφερον. — H.

² Not in Codex. — H.

εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Εἰπέ μοι, σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; Ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπε· Σὺ τοῦτο λέγεις, ἢ ἄλλοι Ἰουδαῖοι εἶπον τοῦτο πρὸς σέ, ἵνα με ἐρωτήσης; Εἶπεν ὁ Πιλάτος· Καὶ μήτι ἐγὼ Ἑβραῖός εἰμι; ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ Ἑβραῖός· ὁ λαὸς σου δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς παρέδωκάν σε εἰς τὰς χεῖράς μου· καὶ εἰπέ μοι, εἰ βασιλεὺς εἶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἡ ἐμὴ βασιλεία ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, οἱ στρατιῶταί μου οὐκ ἂν ἔμελον (sic) ἀμελῆσαι κρατηθῆναι με· λοιπὸν ἡ βασιλεία μου οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· Τὸ λοιπὸν βασιλεὺς εἶ; Εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Σὺ εἶπας· ἐγὼ εἰς τοῦτο ἐγεννήθην τοῦ μαρτυρεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ εἰ τίς ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀληθείας, πιστεύει τὸν λόγον μου καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτόν. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· Τί ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια;

Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Χριστὸς· Ἡ ἀλήθειά ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· Ἐν τῇ γῇ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλήθεια; Λέγει ὁ Χριστὸς· Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια· καὶ πῶς ἐν τῇ γῇ κρίνεται ἡ ἀλήθεια παρὰ τῶν ἐχόντων γῆνιν ἐξουσίαν;

Ἀφείλς οὖν ὁ Πιλάτος τὸν Χριστὸν μόνον ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω, καὶ λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· Ἐγὼ οὐδὲν εὐρίσκω πταῖσμα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. Ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Ἡμεῖς ἵνα εἴπωμεν τῇ μεγαλειότητί σου, τί εἶπεν αὐτός· εἶπεν, ὅτι δύναμαι καταλῦσαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν οἰκοδομῆσαι αὐτόν. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· Καὶ ποῖον ναὸν εἶπεν α [ἵνα]¹ καταλύσει [ἵνα καταλύσῃ]; Εἶπον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Σολομῶντος, ὃν ἔκτισεν ὁ Σολομὼν ἐπὶ ἔτει [ἔτη] τεσσαράκοντα ἕξ. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος ἰδίᾳ² [ιδίᾳ] πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς γραμματεῖς καὶ τοὺς Φαρισαίους· Παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ποιήσετε [ποιήσατε] κακὸν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ἐὰν γὰρ ποιήσῃτε εἰς τοῦτον κακόν, ἀδίκᾳ μέλλετε ποιήσῃν· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ δίκαιον ἀποθανεῖν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον, ὅστις ἐποίησεν ἀγαθὰ μεγάλα πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Εἶπον ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον· Εἰ ὁ ἀτιμάσας, κύριέ μου, τὸν Καίσαρα, ἀξίός ἐστι θανάτου, πῶσω μᾶλλον οὗτος ὁ ἀτιμάζων τὸν θεόν; Τότε ὥρισεν ὁ Πιλάτος, καὶ ἐξῆλθον πάντες ἔξω. Εἶτα λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ· Τί θέλεις ποιήσω σοι; Λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πιλάτῳ· ποιήσον εἰς ἐμὲ, ὅπως ἐστὶν ὠρισμένον. Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Ὁ Μωυσῆς καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἔγραψαν σταυρωθῆναι με καὶ ἀναστήναι. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Ἑβραῖοι εἶπον πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον· Τί ζητεῖς ἀκοῦσαι μεγαλωτέραν ὕβριν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν θεόν; Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· Ὑβρεὺς λόγος οὗτος πρὸς τὸν θεόν οὐκ ἔστιν· ἐπεὶ ἐν ταῖς προφητικαῖς βίβλοις γράφεται. Εἶπον οἱ Ἑβραῖοι· Ἡ ἡμετέρα γραφὴ λέγει· Ἐὰν πταίσῃ ἄνθρωπος πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, ἤγουν ἐὰν ὑβρίσῃ αὐτόν, ἀξίός ἐστιν, ἵνα

¹ Ob εν scriba præteritit ut, et improbabilis conjectura Thilonis. — D.

² Recentior manus præposuit κατ'. — D.

λαμβάνη μετὰ βάβδου πληγὰς τεσσαράκοντα · ἐὰν δὲ ὑβρίσῃ τις τὸν θεόν, ἵνα λιθοβολῇται.

Τότε ἦλθε μηνυτὴς ἀπὸ τῆς Πιλόκλης τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ Πιλάτου πρὸς αὐτόν, τὸ δὲ μήνυμα ἔλεγεν · "Ὅτι πρόσεχε, μὴ συγκαταβῆς ἵνα γένηται τι κακὸν εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν καλὸν ἄνθρωπον. "Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν νύκτα φοβεροὺς ὀνείρους εἶδον δι' αὐτόν.

"Ἐδωκε δὲ ἀπολογία ὁ Πιλάτος πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους · Ἴδοὺ, ἐὰν ἔχετε (sic), ὅτι ὑβρις ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, τὸν λόγον ὃν λέγετε ὅτι εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, λάβετε αὐτὸν καὶ κρίνατε ὑμεῖς κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν.

Εἶπον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλάτῳ · "Ἡμεῖς θέλομεν ἵνα σταυρώσωμεν [σταυρώσης] αὐτόν. Στραφεῖς δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος πρὸς τὸν λαὸν εἶδε πολλοὺς κλαίοντας καὶ εἶπεν · "Εμοὶ δοκεῖ οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ λαοῦ πάντος θέλημα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ἀποθανεῖν.

Λέγουσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς · "Ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦτο τὸν λαὸν ἅπαντα ἠγάγομεν, ἵνα λάβῃς πληροφορίαν, ὅτι πάντες τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ θέλουσιν. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος · Τί γὰρ κακὸν ἐποίησεν; Εἶπον οἱ Ἑβραῖοι · Βασιλέα ἐαυτὸν εἶναι λέγει καὶ υἱὸν θεοῦ.

[§ 8.] Ἰουδαῖος οὖν — θεοσεβὴς — μέσον σταθεῖς, ὀνόματι Νικόδημος, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον · Δέομαι τῆς μεγαλειότητός σου, ἔασαί με εἰπεῖν πρὸς σὲ ὀλίγα τινα ῥήματα. "Εφη ὁ Πιλάτος · Εἰπέ. Λέγει ὁ Νικόδημος · "Εγὼ εἶπα τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς Λευῖταις καὶ τοῖς γραμματεῦσι καὶ τῷ λαῷ παρὼν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ· Τίνα λόγον ἔχετε κατὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου; οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος πολλὰ θαύματα ποιεῖ, οἷα ἀνθρώπος ποτε οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ μὴ ποιήσει. "Αφετε οὖν αὐτόν· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὅσα ποιεῖ, ἵστασθαι μέλλουσιν, εἰ δὲ ἔστιν ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων, καταλυθῆναι μέλλουσιν.

Καθὼς ἐγένετο καὶ ὅταν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν Μωυσῆν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ Φαραὼ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου ἵνα ποιήσῃ σημεῖον, καὶ ἐποίησεν. Εἷτα εἶχεν ὁ Φαραὼ καὶ μάγους δύο, τὸν Ἰανῆν [Ἰαννῆν] καὶ

Ἰαμβρῆν· καὶ ἐποίησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ σημεῖα μαγικῇ τέχνῃ χρώμενοι, οὐχὶ δὲ ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ Μωυσῆς· εἶχον δὲ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τοὺς τοιοῦτους μάγους ὡς θεοὺς· διότι δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι ἐκ θεοῦ, κατελύθησαν οἷα ἐποίησαν.

Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸν Λάζαρον ἀνέστησε, καὶ ζῇ. Διὰ τοῦτο δέομαί σου, κύριέ μου, ἵνα μηδὲν παραχωρήσης φονευθῆναι τὸν τοιοῦτον ἱατρὸν καὶ ζωοτρόφον. Ἐθυμώθησαν οἱ Ἑβραῖοι κατὰ τοῦ Νικοδήμου, καὶ εἰπον αὐτῷ· Τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἵνα παραλάβῃς καὶ μέρος ἵνα ἔχῃς μετ' αὐτοῦ. Λέγει ὁ Νικόδημος· Ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν· γένοιτο μοι, καθὼς λέγετε.

[§ 9.] Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Νικοδήμου ἕτερος ἐγερθεὶς Ἑβραῖος λέγει τῷ Πιλάτῳ· Δέομαί σου, κύριε Πιλάτε, ἄκουσον καμοῦ. Ἐγὼ ἐκείμην ἀσθενῶν ἐπὶ κλίνῃς ἔτη τριάκοντα ὀκτῶ, καὶ ἰδὼν με ἐλυπήθη, καὶ εἶπέ μοι· Ἐγείρου, ἄρον τὸν κράββατόν σου, καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου. Καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν μοι τὸν λόγον ἡγέρθην καὶ περιεπάτουν. Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Ἐρωτήσατε αὐτὸν, ἐν ποίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐβδομάδος τοῦτο ἐγένετο. ἄρας καὶ τὸ κλινίδιον σου, λέγει ἐκεῖνος· Ἐν σαββάτῳ. Εἰπον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Καὶ λοιπὸν ἀληθῶς ἡμεῖς λέγομεν, ὅτι τὸ σάββατον οὐ τηρεῖ. Ἄλλος πάλιν σταθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ ἐγεννήθην τυφλός· καὶ πορευομένου τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐβόησα πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγων· ἐλέησόν με, κύριε, υἱὲ Δαυΐδ. Καὶ λαβὼν πηλὸν ἔχρισέ μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνέβλεψα. Ἄλλος εἶπε· Κυλλὸς ἦμην, καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἐβόησα· ἐλέησόν με, κύριε. Καὶ λαβόμενός (sic) με τῆς χειρὸς, εὐθὺς ἡγέρθην. Ἄλλος εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ λεπρὸς ἦν, καὶ ἰάσατό με μόνον διὰ λόγου. Εὐρέθη ἐκεῖ καὶ γυνὴ ὀνομαζομένη Βερονίκη, καὶ εἶπεν· Ὅτι δώδεκα ἦν ἔτη ἐγὼ ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος, καὶ μόνον τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ τῆς ἄκρας ἡψάμην, καὶ εὐθὺς ἰάθην. Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Μαρτυρίαν γυναικὸς

ὁ νόμος οὐ παραδέχεται. Ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι ἐβόησαν· Οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος προφήτης ἐστὶ, καὶ οἱ δαίμονες αὐτὸν φοβοῦνται. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· Καὶ πῶς οὐδὲν ἐφοβοῦντο οὕτω καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς ὑμῶν τὰ δαιμόνια; Λέγουσιν ἐκεῖνοι· Οὐ γινώσκομεν. Ἄλλοι πάλιν εἶπον· Τὸν Λάζαρον τεταρταῖον ὄντα ἐν τῷ μνήματι καὶ διὰ λόγου μόνου ἀνέστησεν. Ἀκούσας οὖν ὁ Πιλάτος τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Λαζάρου ἐφοβήθη, καὶ λέγει πρὸς τὸν λαόν· Διὰ τί θέλετε, ἵνα χύσητε (sic) αἷμα δίκαιον [δικαίου?] ἀνθρώπου;

[§ 10.] Εἶτα προσεκαλέσατο τὸν Νικόδημον καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα — θεοσεβεῖς — Ἰουδαίους, καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς· Τί λέγετε ἵνα ποιήσω, ὅτι ὁ λαὸς ταράσσεται; Λέγουσιν ἐκεῖνοι· Οὐ γινώσκομεν·

ὁ βούλει [βούλη], ποιήσον· ὁ λαὸς δὲ ὅσον ποιεῖ, ἀδίκως ποιεῖ, ἵνα εὕρωσι τοῦτο.¹

Ἐξῆλθε πάλιν ὁ Πιλάτος ἔξω καὶ λέγει πρὸς τὸν λαόν· Οἴδατε, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς τῶν ἀζύμων ἐστὶ σύνηθες, ἵνα ἐλευθερῶ δι' ἡμᾶς [ὑμᾶς] ἓνα ἀπὸ τῶν κεκρατημένων εἰς φρουρὰν ὑπευθύνων· ἔχω οὖν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ κακοῦργον ληστήν, λεγόμενον Βαραβᾶν, ἔχω καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὅστις ποτὲ κακὸν οὐκ ἐποίησε· τίνα οὖν ἐκ τῶν δύο θέλετε ἵνα ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν; Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ λαός· Ἀπόλυσον ἡμῖν τὸν Βαραβᾶν. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· Τί οὖν ποιήσω τὸν Ἰησοῦν; Λέγουσιν ἐκεῖνοι· Σταυρωθήτω. Πάλιν ἐβόησαν ἕτεροι ἐξ αὐτῶν· Ἐὰν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπολύσης, οὐκ εἶ φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος, διότι νῦν θεοῦ ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζει καὶ βασιλέα· καὶ ἐὰν ἐλευθερώσης αὐτὸν, γίνεται βασιλέας [βασιλεὺς, καὶ] μέλλει λαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Καίσαρος.

¹ Fort. ἵνα αἴρωσι τοῦτον. — T.

Ἐθυμώθη οὖν ὁ Πιλάτος καὶ εἶπε· Πάντοτε ἡ γενεὰ ὑμῶν ἦν διαβολικὴ καὶ ἀπίστος, καὶ αἰεὶ πρὸς τοὺς εὐεργέτας ὑμῶν ἦτε ἀντίδικοι. Εἶπον οἱ Ἑβραῖοι· Καὶ τίνας ἦσαν ἡμῶν εὐεργέται; Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· Ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐλευθερώσας ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν Φαραῶ, καὶ διαπεράσας ὑμᾶς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ὡς ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς, καὶ χορτάσας ὑμᾶς¹ ὕδωρ ἐκ πέτρας καὶ ὁ δοὺς ὑμῶν [ὑμῖν] νόμον, ὃν κατελύσατε τὸν θεὸν ἀρνησάμενοι· καὶ εἰ μὴ Μωϋσῆς ἐστάθη παρακαλῶν τὸν θεόν, πικρῶ θανάτῳ ἂν ἐμέλλετε πάντες παραπολέσθαι. Πάντων οὖν ἐκείνων ἐπελάθεσθε. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ νῦν λέγετε,² οὐδὲν ἀγαπῶ ἐγὼ τὸν Καίσαρα, ἀλλ' ἔχω μῖσος εἰς αὐτὸν, καὶ θέλω ἵνα ἐπιβουλεύσωμαι [ἐπιβουλεύσωμαι] κατὰ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Πιλάτος ἡγέρθη³ τοῦ θρόνου μετὰ θυμοῦ, θέλων φυγεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν. Ἐκραξαν οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λέγοντες· Ἡμεῖς τὸν Καίσαρα θέλωμεν [θέλομεν] βασιλεῦειν ἡμῶν, οὐ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, διότι ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκ τῶν μάγων ἐδέξατο χαρίσματα. Καὶ ἤκουσε τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης, ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέλλει γενέσθαι, καὶ ἠθέλησεν ἵνα φονεύσῃ αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀπέστειλε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε πάντα τὰ βρέφη τὰ ἐν Βηθλεέμ. Διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰωσήφ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἔφυγον ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου αὐτῶν [αὐτῶν?] εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον. Ἀκούσας τοιγαροῦν ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς τοιοῦτους λόγους καὶ φοβηθεὶς κατεσίγησε πάντα τὸν λαόν [καὶ λέγει]⁴. Λοιπὸν οὕτως ἐστὶν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὃν ἐξήτε τότε ὁ Ἡρώδης φονεύσαι; Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Ναί. Γνωρίσας οὖν ὁ Πιλάτος, ὅτι τῆς ἐπικρατείας ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἡρώδου, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ γένους καταγόμενος τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀπέστειλε τὸν Ἰησοῦν πρὸς αὐτόν. Καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐχάρη μεγάλως· ἦν γὰρ ἐπιθυμῶν ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν, ἀκούων τὰ θαύματα ἃ ἐποίει. Ἐνέδυσεν οὖν αὐτὸν ἱμάτια λευκά, εἴτα ἤρξατο αὐτὸν ἐρωτᾶν· Πύθεν εἰ καὶ ἐκ ποίου γένους; Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀποκρίσιν οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ. Θέλων δὲ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἰδεῖν καὶ θαῦμα τί ποτε γενόμενον παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ μὴ ἰδὼν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδὲ ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν τυχεύοντα λόγον, ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν αὖθις πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον. Ὁ δὲ λαὸς ἔκραζεν· Σταυρωθήτω.

Τοῦτο ἰδὼν ὁ Πιλάτος εἶπε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις αὐτοῦ ἀγαγεῖν ὕδωρ, καὶ οὗτοι ἔφερον. Νιπτόμενος οὖν τὰς χεῖρας μετὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἔφη πρὸς τὸν λαόν· Ἀθῶός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ καλοῦ τούτου ἀνθρώπου· ὑμεῖς ὀψεσθε, ὅτι ἀδίκως τοῦτον φονεύεται [φονεύετε],

¹ Some words not found in Codex D are here supplied by Thilo, probably from *Codex Venetus*: τὴν ὀρνυγομήτραν, ἐκ πέτρας ἀνίκμον ποτίσας τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ ὁ δοὺς. — H.

² Thilo supplies ὅτι. — H.

³ Thilo supplies ἀπὸ. — H.

⁴ Omisit Codex. — D.

ἐπεὶ οὔτε ἐγὼ εὖρον ἐν αὐτῷ αἰτίαν, ἀλλ' οὔτε Ἡρώδης· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἔπεμψεν αὐθις τοῦτον πρὸς με ὀπίσθην.

Εἶπον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν.

Οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐθορυβοῦντο πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ἵνα αὐτὸν συντομότερον (*sic*) ἀπολέσωσιν. Ὁ δὲ λαὸς αὐθις πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον . . .¹ Τότε λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὁ Πιλάτος· Σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοὺς ἀπόκρισιν οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· Ἐμοὶ οὐ λαλεῖς; οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχω σταυρῶσαί σε, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχω ἀπολύσαι σε; Εἶπεν οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Οὐκ ἔχεις καμίαν (*sic*) ἐξουσίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἦν σοι δεδομένον ἄνωθεν.

[§ 11.] Τότε ἐκάθισεν εἰς τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ὁ Πιλάτος, ἵνα ποιήσῃ ἀπόφασιν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. Ὡρρισεν οὖν καὶ ἦλθεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

Καὶ ἔφερον στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν, καὶ ἔθηκαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ κάλαμον ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα.

Εἶτα ἐποίησε τὴν ἀπόφασιν, καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἡ γενεά σου λέγει καὶ μαρτυρεῖ σε, ὅτι θέλεις ἵνα βασιλεύσῃς· διὰ τοῦτο ὀρίζω, ἵνα

σε τύψωσι πρῶτον μετὰ ῥάβδου πληγὰς τεσσαράκοντα, καθὼς ὀρίζουσιν οἱ νόμοι τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ ἵνα σε ἐμπαίξωσι, καὶ τελευταῖον ἵνα

σε σταυρώσωσιν.

Τῆς τοιαύτης οὖν ἀποφάσεως γενομένης παρὰ τοῦ Πιλάτου, ἤρξαντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τύπτειν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, οἱ μὲν ῥάβδοις, οἱ δὲ χερσίν, οἱ δὲ ποσίν, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἔπτυνον.

Εὐθὺς οὖν κατασκευάσαντες τὸν σταυρὸν ὑπήγοντο πρὸς τὸ σταυρῶσαι αὐτόν· καὶ δόντες τοῦτον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπέταυτο ὀδεύειν.

Καὶ οὗτω πορευόμενος, βαστάζων καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν, ἦλθε μέχρι τῆς πύλης τῆς πόλεως Ἱεροσολύμων. Ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν οὖν πληγῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ

¹ There must here be an omission in the Codex. — H.

βάρους τοῦ σταυροῦ μὴ δυνάμενον τοῦτον (*sic*) περιπατεῖν, οὗτοι, ἐκ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἧς εἶχον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι σταυρῶσαι αὐτὸν τάχος, ἄραντες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν σταυρὸν, καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὸν πρὸς τινα Κυρηναῖον συναντήσαντα αὐτοῖς, δυνάμει Σίμωνα, ἐξερχομένου¹ ἀπ' ἀγροῦ, ὅστις εἶχε δύο υἱοὺς, Ἄλέξανδρον καὶ Ῥούφον. — ἦν δὲ ἀπὸ Κυρήνης τῆς πόλεως — ἔδωκαν οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν σταυρὸν, οὐχ ὡς ἐλεούντος [ἐλεούντες] τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἐλαφρύνοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βάρους αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ἐπιθυμοῦντες, ὡς εἴρηται, φονεῦσαι αὐτὸν συντομώτερον, ἐγκάρυσαν [ἡγγάρυσαν] αὐτὸν τὸν Κυρηναῖον, ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Γολγοθᾶ τόπον, ὃ ἐστὶ μεθερμηνυόμενον κρανίον τόπος.

Ἰηκοῦθῃ [Ἰηκολούθει] οὖν ἐκεῖ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰωάννης. εἶτα φυγὼν ὑπάγει πρὸς τὴν θεοτόκον, καὶ λέγει μετὰ δακρύων. ὦ κυρία μου καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ διδασκάλου μου, ποῦ ἦσθα καὶ οὐκ ἦλθες, ἵνα ἴδῃς τί ἐγένετο; Ἀπεκρίθη ἐκείνη. Τί ἐστὶν ὅπερ ἐγένετο; Λέγει ὁ Ἰωάννης. γίνωσκε ὅτι ἐπίασαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν διδασκάλόν μου, τὸν σὸν υἱόν· καὶ ὑπάγουσιν ἵνα σταυρώσωσιν αὐτόν. Καὶ ἀκούσασα τοῦτο ἡ θεοτόκος ἡ μήτηρ* αὐτοῦ, ἔκραξε μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ ἐβόα λέγουσα. Οἱμοι οἱμοι, νιέ μου γλυκύτατε. Τί ἄρα κακὸν ἐποίησας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις; καὶ ὑπάγουσίν σε πρὸς τὸ σταυρῶσαι. Ἐκαθέζεται καὶ ἡγέρθη ὥσπερ ἐσκοτισμένη, καὶ ἀπῆρχετο κλαίονσα. Κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡκολούθουν αὐτῇ καὶ γυναῖκες, ἡ τε Μάρθα καὶ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ, καὶ ἡ Σαλώμη, καὶ ἕτεραι παρθένοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης μετ' αὐτῆς. Ὡς οὖν ἐφθασαν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ὄχλου, λέγει ἡ θεοτόκος πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην. ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός μου; Λέγει ὁ Ἰωάννης. Ὁρᾷς ἐκεῖνον [τὸν φοροῦντα τὸν στέφανον] τὸν ἀκάνθινον καὶ τὰς χεῖρας δεδεμένον; Ἀκούσασα ἡ θεοτόκος τὰς χεῖρας δεδεμένον καὶ ἰδούσα αὐτόν, ὀλιγοψύχισε [ὀλιγοψύχησε], καὶ ἔπεσεν ὀπισθεν χαμαὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν. καὶ ἐκειτο ἱκανὴν ὥραν, καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ὅσαι ἡκολούθουν αὐτῇ, ἰστάμεναι γύρωθεν (*sic*) αὐτῆς καὶ ἔκλαιον. Ἀφ' οὗ δὲ καὶ ἀνέπνευσε καὶ ἡγέρθη, δραμοῦσα ὡς λαίενα [λαίαινα] ὑπὸ [ἀπὸ] ἀγροῦ καὶ διαρρήξασα τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῆς, οὐρανοδόξως (*sic*) ὑπεβλέπετο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις λέγουσα. δότε μοι, ἄνδρες, ὁδὸν περιπατήσαι καὶ πέσαι (*sic*)

πρὸς τὸ ἄρνιον μου· δότε μοι, ἄνδρες, τόπον, ὅπως κλαύσω τὸν υἱόν μου, τὸ ἄρνιον τῆς ψυχῆς μου, τὸ θυλαγγάλακτον [*sic*; ἀπ' ἀγγαλάκτον?]; τὸν μασθῶν μου, δότε μοι, ἄνδρες, τόπον, ὅπως θεωρήσω [θεωρήσω] καὶ κλαύσω τὸν υἱόν μου. Καὶ τὸ στήθος αὐτῆς τύπτουσα καὶ ἐβόα λέγουσα. Οἱμοι οἱμοι, γλυκύτατόν μου τέκνον, φῶς τῶν ὀμμάτων μου, πῶς ὑπομένω θεωρῶν σε ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ κρεμάμενον; Οἱμοι οἱμοι, δεῦτε πάντες κλαύσατε τὴν τετρανυματισμένην μου ψυχὴν* ὅτι τὸν μονογενῆ μου υἱὸν θεωρῶ ἐπὶ σταυροῦ ὑπλωμένον [ἡπλωμένον] καὶ μὴ λαλοῦντα πρὸς με, δεῦτε ἀκούσατε λαοί, φυλαὶ καὶ γλῶσσαι, τοιοῦτον θάνατον ἄδικον ἔδωκαν τοῦ υἱοῦ μου (*sic*). Καὶ πάλιν γεγωνοτέρα ἐβόησεν φωνὴν μεγάλην (*sic*) λέγουσα. νιέ μου, νιέ μου, ποῦ τὸ κάλλος ἔδου τῆς μορφῆς σου; τῶς ἀγνώριστος φαίη μοι; πῶς ὑπομένω θεωρεῖν σε τοιαῦτα πάσχοντα; Καὶ ταῦτα λέγουσα ἔτυπτε τὸ στήθος αὐτῆς, καὶ κατέξεναι [κατέξαινε] μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, καὶ βαρέως στενάζοντα [στενάζουσα] ἔλεγε. ποῦ ἐδιέβησαν (*sic*) τὰ ἀγαθὰ ὅσα ἐποίησας ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ; Τί κακὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, νιέ μου, ἐποίησας; ἀντὶ ἀγαθῶν κακὰ ἔλαβες* ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγαπᾶν σε, νιέ μου παμφίλτατε καὶ γλυκύτατε, τὸν φόγον προσεφέρασιν [προσεφέρουσαι?]. Οὕτως οὖν ἰδόντες αὐτὴν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι θρηνοῦσαν καὶ κρίζουσαν, ἦλθον καὶ ἐδίωκον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἐπίθετο [ἐπέθετο] φυγὴν, ἀλλ' ἔμενε, καὶ ἐβόα λέγουσα· φονεύσατε ἐμὲ πρῶτον, Ἰουδαῖοι παράνομοι.

¹ ἐξερχόμενον. — T.

Τότε ἀπεσώθησαν¹ εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον κρανίου τόπον, ὃς ἦν λιθόστρωτος, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔστησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν σταυρόν. Καὶ ἐξέδυσαν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, καὶ διμερίσαντο ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς.

καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτῷ πιεῖν ἐσφυρnisμένον οἶνον· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβεν. αὐτὸν δὲ ἐνέδυσαν χλαμύδα κοκκίνην· τουτέστιν ῥώσον (*sic*) κόκκινον· καὶ πλέξαντες στέφανον ἐξ ἁκανθῶν, ἐπέθηκαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ γονυπέτησαντες ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἐνέμπαιζον [ἐνέπαιζον] αὐτὸν λέγοντες· χαῖρε ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Καὶ ἐμπτύσαντες αὐτὸν, ἔλαβον τὸν κάλαμον καὶ ξυπτον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὅτε ἐνέπαιζαν αὐτὸν, ἐξέδυσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν χλαμύδα (*sic*), τουτέστιν τὸ ῥάσον (*sic*)· ὁ καλεῖται πορφύρα.² Καὶ ἐνέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὰ ἱμάτια τὰ ἴδια, καὶ ἐξάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἵνα σταυρωθῇ. Καὶ σταυρώσαντες αὐτὸν, διμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, βάλλοντες κλῆρον ἐπ' αὐτά, τίς τί ἄρει [ἀρεῖ, D.; ἄρη? A.].³

ἦν δὲ ὥρα ε' τῆς ἡμέρας.⁴ ἀνεβίβασαν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ καὶ σταυρώσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκάρφωσαν.

ἦν δὲ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς Glas⁵ (*sic*) αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένη ἐπ' αὐτῷ γράμμασιν ἐλληνικῆς [ἐλληνικοῖς] καὶ ῥωμαϊκῆς [ῥωμαϊκοῖς] καὶ ἐβραϊκῆς [ἐβραϊκοῖς] λέγων (*sic*)· οὗτος ἐστίν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

Καὶ συσταυροῦσιν αὐτῷ δύο λησταῖς (*sic*),⁶ ἓνα ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἓνα ἐξ εὐωνύμων.

Καὶ οἱ παραπορευόμενοι ἐβλασφήμουν αὐτόν, κοινοῦντες [κινοῦντες] τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν καὶ λέγοντες· Οὐαὶ, ὁ καταλύων τὸν ναὸν, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις οἰκοδομῶν, σῶσον σεαυτὸν, καὶ κατὰβηθι ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ. Ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐμπαίζοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους μετὰ τῶν γραμματέων ἔλεγον· ἄλλους ἔσωσεν, ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύναται σῶσαι ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ· καταβάτω νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἵνα ἴδωμεν καὶ πιστεύσωμεν αὐτῷ.

¹ There must be an omission here. We might supply οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀπήγαγον αὐτόν. — H.

² Non recte igitur Thilo dixit hæc *paucis exceptis* cum [Cod.] Ven. consentire. — D.

³ This paragraph, though out of place, must have been inserted before the time of Justin Martyr. Compare *Indirect Testimony*, Note A, foot-note 57. — H.

⁴ The MS. has not ὅτε. — H.

⁵ αἰτίας. — H.

⁶ ληστὰς. — H.

Καὶ ταῦτα πάλιν ἀκούσας (sic) ἡ θεοτόκος, λυπουμένη καὶ ἐκ βάθου (sic) καρδίας, στριγκήσας (sic) μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ μετὰ θανάτος στεναγμοῦ καὶ πικροτάτων δακρύων παραπονόντα (sic) ἔκραξεν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχάγγελον Γαβριὴλ λέγων· ὦ Γαβριὴλ ἀρχάγγελε, ποῦ εἶ (καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὥδε) ἵνα δικάσωμαι μετὰ σοῦ; ταῦτα εἰσὶν ὅπερ (sic) ἐλέγες μοι ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελισμῷ, καὶ εἶπες μοι; χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη Μαρία, ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ. Ὅμοιως καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ· καὶ πῶς οὐκ εἶπες μοι τότε τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν; ὅπερ νῦν βλέπωσιν (sic) οἱ ὀδυνηροὶ μου ὀφθαλμοί, τὰ ἄμετρα βάσανα τοῦ μονογενοῦς μου υἱοῦ. Πῶς τότε οὐκ εἶπες μοι τὸν ἄδικον θάνατον τοῦ γλυκυτάτου καὶ μονογενοῦς μου υἱοῦ; πῶς τότε οὐκ εἶπες μοι τὴν παρουσίαν μου καὶ ἀπαράμυθτον θλίψιν; πῶς τότε οὐκ εἶπες μοι τὸν ἄμετρον πόνον καὶ τρόπον τῆς τεθλιμμένης μου ψυχῆς καὶ καρδίας; πῶς τότε οὐκ εἶπες μοι τὸν ἀνεκδιήγητον καὶ τεθλιμμένον (sic) χωρισμὸν τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ μου υἱοῦ, καὶ τὴν στέρησιν τῶν ἐσκοτισμένων μου ὀφθαλμῶν; πῶς τότε οὐκ εἶπες μοι (sic) τὴν παντίβουλον [πανεπίβουλον?] παράδωσιν τοῦ υἱοῦ μου παρὰ τῷ δολίῳ φιλήματι τοῦ παρανόμου Ἰουδα, τοῦ μαθητοῦ καὶ ἐπιβούλου; κύριε, ἐλέησον.* πῶς ζῶ; κύριε, ἐλέησον.* πῶς ἀνανέω; κύριε, ἐλέησον.* πῶς οἱ τεφλωμένοι [τετυφλωμένοι] μου καὶ ἐσκοτισμένοι ὀφθαλμοὶ βλέπουσι τοσαῦτα βάσανα τοῦ γλυκυτάτου μου καὶ σπλαγχνικοῦ μου υἱοῦ; Κύριε, ἐλέησον.* τίς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ εἶχεν τοιοῦτους πόνους καὶ εὐρεθῇ (sic) κατασβέσαι μου τοὺς τοιοῦτους βαρυτάτους πόνους καὶ στεναγμοὺς τοῦ χωρισμοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς μου υἱοῦ; Οἱμοι οἱμοι, υἱέ μου παμφίλτατε· ποῦ καταφύγω ἢ ποῦ προσδράμω; οἱμοι, τέκνον· καὶ πῶς φανήσομαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τῆς τοσαύτης λυπημένης καὶ παραπονεμένης (sic); τί εἶχων [εἶχον?] λέγειν καθ' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ ἐμέ; οἱμοι· αὕτη ἐστὶν τοῦ τόδυνος κενυρόμενον (sic) ὅπερ (sic) ἐκαλεῖτο βασιλεὺς καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. Οἱμοι, υἱέ μου γλυκύτατε· πῶς ἔχω μὴ μνησθῆναι τῆς ἀμέτρου καὶ σπλαγχνικῆς σοῦ ἀγάπης·

ἀλλ' ἔως θανάτου ἔστωσαν ἐν ἐμοὶ λύπη, θλίψις, πόνοι, δάκρυα καὶ στεναγμοὶ ἀπαράμυθτα· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, υἱέ μου, ἄλλη παρηγορία ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐδέμια, ὅτι ἄρτι βλέπω, χωρίζομαι ἀπὸ σοῦ· καὶ λοιπὸν, υἱέ μου, ἀποθανοῦμαι κατὰ ἅμα σὺν σοί· καὶ ἐλθέτω, δέομαί σου, νιέ, ὁ ἀρχάγγελος Γαβριὴλ ὁ δώσας μοι πρῶτον τότε χαρὰν, καὶ συνζεύξει τὴν ψυχὴν μου μετὰ σοῦ. Καὶ ἰσταμένη καὶ ὀδυνωμένη ἡ θεοτόκος καὶ βλέπουσα πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν μονογενῆ, πάλιν ἔκραξε φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγουσα· υἱέ μου, υἱέ μου. Τότε στραφεὶς πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἰστάμενον πλησίον αὐτῆς καὶ κλαίοντα μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὴν θεοτόκον ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Γυναί, ἰδοὺ ὁ υἱός σου. Ἐπειτα φησὶν πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην· ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ σου. Ἡ δὲ θεοτόκος κλαίων ἐκραύγαζεν λέγουσα· διὰ τοῦτο σε κλαίω, υἱέ μου, διότι σε παρεδῶκαν οἱ παράνομοι Ἰουδαῖοι εἰς πικρὸν θάνατον, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τετυφλωμένοι νομίζουν (sic)· ἀλλὰ ὁ θάνατός σου, υἱέ μου, ἁγίος καὶ δίκαιός ἐστιν· καὶ σωτηρία τοῦ κόσμου ὅλου ἐνρισθήσεται. Καὶ πρὸς ἐμέ πάλιν λέγω· χωρὶς σου, υἱέ μου, τί ἐγὼ γενήσομαι; ἐκτός σου πῶς ζήσω; ποταπὴν βιοτὴν διέξω; ποῦ οἱ μαθηταί σου οἱ καυχώμενοι συναποθνήσκουσιν σοι; ποῦ οἱ παρὰ σοῦ ἰαθέντες; Καὶ πρὸς τὸν σταυρὸν ἀφορώσα ἔλεγεν· κλῖνον, σταυρε, ἵνα περιλαβούσα τὸν υἱόν μου, καὶ καταφιλήσω τὰ σπλαγχνά μου, τὰ φύλλα τῆς καρδίας μου, ὃν ἐν τοῖς μασθοῖς τούτοις ξενοτρόπως, ὡς μὴ ἄνδρα γνοῦσα, ἐθήλασα· κλῖνον, σταυρε, βουλομένη τῷ φιλήτάτῳ μου υἱῷ περιπλακῆναι· κλῖνον, σταυρε, ἵνα τῷ ποθεινοτάτῳ μου υἱῷ ὡς μήτηρ συντάξαι [συντάξωμαι] καὶ καταφιλήσω. Ποῦ τὸ κάλλος σου, υἱέ μου ὠραιότατε; ποῦ σου οἱ [ἡ] εὐπρέπεια, ὁ ὠραίος παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων; οὐκ ἔχει ἴδος [εἶδος] οὐδὲ κάλλος, γλυκύτατε υἱέ· ὑπὸ χειρῶν παρανόμενων λοιπὸν σὺν σοὶ ἀποθανοῦμαι. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι προσελθόντες ἐδίδωσαν αὐτὴν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην μακράν.

Τότε ἐβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγων· Μὴ στήσης αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ταύτην· οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν οἱ ἄθλιοι. Ἐπειτα λέγει· διψῶ. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἔδραμεν εἰς ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν· καὶ λαβὼν σπόγγον καὶ πλήσας

αὐτὸν καὶ θεὸς ἐπὶ καλάμου ἐπότιζεν αὐτόν· καὶ γενεσάμενος οὐκ ἤθελεν πιεῖν. Οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι ἰστάμενοι καὶ βλέποντες καταγέλων [κατεγέλων] αὐτὸν καὶ ἔλεγον· ἔάν ἀληθῶς ἔλεγες ὅτι υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, κατὰβηθι ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ παρενθὺς ἵνα πιστεῦσωμεν εἰς σέ. Ἕτεροι ἔλεγον καταγελῶντες· ἄλλους ἔσωσεν, ἄλλους ἐθεράπευσεν καὶ ἰάσατο, ἀσθενεῖς, παραλελυμένους, λεπροὺς, δαιμονιζομένους, τυφλοὺς, χωλοὺς, νεκρωμένους, καὶ ἐαυτὸν οὐ δύναται θεραπεῦσαι ὡσαύτως. Καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ μέρει ἐσταυρωμένος ληστής πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν· ἔάν τοῦ θεοῦ υἱὸς εἶ,¹ κατὰβηθι καὶ σῶσον καὶ ἐαυτὸν² καὶ ἡμᾶς. Ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἦν Γήστας. Ὁ δὲ ἐξ δεξιῶν ἐσταυρωμένος ληστής, ὀνόματι Δυσμᾶς (*sic*), καὶ ὠνείδιζεν τὸν αὐτὸν ληστὴν λέγων· ὦ ταλαίπωρε καὶ ἄθλιε, οὐ φοβῇ τὸν θεόν; ἡμεῖς ἄξια ὃν [ὦν] ἐπράξαμεν ἐπάθομεν· οὗτος δὲ πάντως οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐποίησεν οὔτε ἔπραξεν. Καὶ στραφεὶς οὗτος ἐκ δεξιῶν ληστής προσεφώνει καὶ λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν· μνησθητὶ μου, κύριε, ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοὺς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ.

Ἀκούσατε δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν διήγησιν περὶ (*sic*) τούτου τοῦ ἐκ δεξιῶν ληστοῦ. Εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν εἰς λγ' χρόνου, ὅταν φωνὴ ἐξῆλθεν ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου τῷ Ἰωσήφ, ἵνα ἀρεί (*sic*) τὸ βρέφος καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ, τὴν ὑπεραγίαν δέσποιναν θεοτόκον, καὶ ἐξέλθωσιν τῆς Ἰουδαίας Ἱερουσαλὴμ (*sic*), τοῦ ὑπάγειν πρὸς Αἴγυπτον διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ Ἡρώδου· ὅταν ὤρισεν ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσιν ὅλα τὰ εὑρισκόμενα βρέφη ἀπὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν καὶ κάτωθεν ἀσφάλτως (*sic*). τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν, ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσι τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. Τότε παραγγειλάμενος (*sic*) ὁ Ἰωσήφ παρ' ἀγγέλου τούτου ποιῆσαι, ἤγαγεν τὸ βρέφος καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἦλθεν πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον. ὄνος δὲ συντρέχων μετ' αὐτοῖς ἕνα παρ' ἕνα βαστάζειν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ· καὶ πλησιάσας ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἐπένασαν ἅμα Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἡ θεοτόκος· καὶ εὐθὺς θεωροῦν (*sic*) φοινικίαν³ κάρπιμον καὶ πάνν ὡραίαν. εἰτα λέγει ἡ θεοτόκος· κλῖνε, δένδρον μου καλὸν, καὶ χάρισον ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ σοῦ ὡραίου καρποῦ. καὶ μετὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῆς τὸ δένδρον ἔκλινεν εὐθὺς, καὶ ἔλαβαν (*sic*) ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ ὅσον ἐχρίζαν [ἐχρρίζαν] ἐσθί-

ειν· καὶ πάλιν τὸ δένδρον ἵστατο ὡσπερ τὸ πρότερον. εἰτα ὠδεον πάλιν τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ διερχόμενοι μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν, ἐσυνάντησαν (*sic*) τούτου τοῦ ληστοῦ, ἡγουν τοῦ Δυσμά. καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ ληστής τὴν θεοτόκον, ἐξέστη τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῆς ὡς ἀστραπὴν λάμπουσιν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, κρατῶν (*sic*) καὶ τὸ βρέφος τοῦ στήθους αὐτῆς. Καὶ ὁ ληστής ἐξεστὶν [ἐξέστη] πάλιν τοῦ θαύματος, καὶ προσῆλθεν πλησίον καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτὴν, μὴ γινώσκοντος (*sic*) ὅτι ἡ θεοτόκος ἐστίν. καὶ λέγει ὁ ληστής τῆς θεοτόκου (*sic*)· μά τὴν ἀλήθειαν κυρία· ἡ [εἰ?] γὰρ εἶχον ὁ θεὸς μάννα, εἰπεῖν εἶθελα [ἤθελα] ὅτι σὺ εἶ. Καὶ προσεκαλέσατο αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ προσελθεῖν, καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ· καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ· γυναῖ, ἐγὼ ὑπάγω εἰς τὸ κυνήγη (*sic*)· καὶ σὺ φιλοξένησον αὐτοὺς ὅσον δύνασαι ποιῆσαι τιμὴν, ἕως οὗ στραφῆσωμαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κυνηγίου· καὶ διορθώσωμεν εὐγενεστάτην τιμὴν τῆς ξένης σου (*sic*) καὶ εὐγενῆς (*sic*) ὅτι κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον ἀπὸ εὐγενικωτάτης γενεᾶς ὑπάρχει. Ὁ δὲ ληστής ἀπῆλθεν τοῦ κυνηγήσαι ζῶα, ὡσπερ ἦν

¹ The original reading was ἦν, which has been altered to εἶ in the MS. — H.

² σεαυτὸν. — H.

³ Or φοινικίαν. The original is obscure, and permits either reading. — H.

μαθημένος (*sic*). εἶχεν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ληστής καὶ παιδίον ἰδικόν τον (*sic*), καὶ ἦν λεπρὸν ἐκ γεννήσεως. ἦτον (*sic*) καὶ ἀννηρένυτον (*sic*) ἡγουν οὐδ' ὅλως ἔπαυεν τοῦ κλαίειν. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐκύνῃ [ἐκείνῃ] τοῦ ληστοῦ ἐποίησεν θερμὸν τοῦ λούσαι τὸ βρέφος τῆς θεοτόκου. λουσαμένου (*sic*) δὲ πρότερον τὸ παιδίον 'Ιησοῦν· καὶ ἐκ τὸ ὑπὸνύματος (*sic*) τοῦ 'Ιησοῦ ἔλουνσεν καὶ τὸ παιδίον αὐτῆς τὸ λεπρόν. καὶ εὐθύς τὸ παιδίον ἐκείνον (*sic*) ἐσήγησεν [ἐσίγησεν] τοῦ κλαίειν, καὶ ἰάθη τῆς λεπρότητος καὶ παντοίας νόσου αὐτοῦ. ἐλθόντος δὲ τοῦ ληστοῦ ἐκ τοῦ κυνηγίου ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, οἰκονόμησαν τράπεζαν καὶ ἐτίμησαν αὐτήν· καθήμενων δὲ ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ καὶ ἐσθιόντων, ἐνεθυμίσθη ὁ ληστής τοῦ παιδίου αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ· ποῦ ἐστὶν τὸ τέκνω (*sic*) ἡμῶν; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· μάθε ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, ὅτι, καθὼς μου [μοι] ἐπαρήγγειλες, ἵνα φιλοξενήσῃμαι τὴν εὐγενὴν¹ ταύτην· οἰκονόμησα θερμόν να [ἵνα] πλή* [πλήρη? πλύνῃ?] τὸ βρέφος αὐτῆς, καθὼς τὸ σύνθηες τῶν παιδίων· καὶ ἔλουνσεν τὸ βρέφος αὐτῆς, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀπόλουσμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς ἔπλυνε τὸ τέκνον ἡμῶν. καὶ εὐθύς ἰάθη ἀπὸ παντὸς [παντοίας] νόσου, ὡς εἴρηται· καὶ εἰρηνεύῃ [εἰρηνεύει] χάριτι θεοῦ, καὶ οὐδέποτε πλείον ἐστρίγγησεν (*sic*), ὡς ἦτον (*sic*) μαθημένον (*sic*). καὶ κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον ὡς δοκῶ, ἐτούτῃ (*sic*) ἡ εὐγενὴ (*sic*) ἐναὶ (*sic*) χαριτωμένη (*sic*), ἀπὸ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου· καὶ διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς χάριτος ἰάθη τὸ τέκνον ἡμῶν. Καὶ προσέφερεν ἔμπροσθεν τὸ ἰαθὲν παιδίον εἰρηνεύον καὶ χαροποιόν.

Καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ ληστής τὸ τέκνον αὐτοῦ ὑγιεῖ (*sic*), ἐξέστη τοῦ θαύματος, καὶ εἶπεν· μὰ τὸν ὑψίστον, διότι οὐδὲν ἤκουον τοῦ κλαίειν αὐτῷ [αὐτῷ] ὡς πάντοτε, ἡνόμησα [ἐνόμισα?] ὅτι ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου. Καὶ λοιπὸν κἀγὼ νομίζω ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, ὅτι ἐτούτῃ (*sic*) ἡ εὐγενὴ ἡ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλθούσα να ἔχει εὐχὰς πολλὰς ἀπὸ θεοῦ τὸν ὑψίστον (*sic*). Καὶ προσεκύνῃσεν αὐτήν καὶ ἐχαρίστησεν αὐτῆς (*sic*) πλήστα [πλείστα]· καὶ ὅπερ ἐδύνατο (*sic*) ἐποίειν (*sic*) δι' αὐτῆς, μέχρι καὶ ἐκαρτέρετο (*sic*) ἐν τόπῳ τῆς Λιγύπτου· καὶ εἰς τὸν διαγεγμὸν (*sic*) αὐτῆς να ἔλθῃ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, ἡγουν εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὁ ληστής ἐσυνόδευσεν τὴν θεοτόκον μετὰ πάσης περιχαρίας καὶ τιμῆς· καὶ ὑπάγεγεν (*sic*) καὶ ἦτον (*sic*) πρόοδος αὐτῆς· περὶ τοῦ βλέπεσθαι αὐτήν, ἐκ τοῦ δολίου τόπου καὶ τζιγεροῦ² καὶ δισκ[ιδυ]κόλου]. Καὶ ὅταν ἐπλησίασαν ἐν τόπῳ ἀγαθῷ καὶ εὐθεί, ἐποίησεν μετάνοιαν (*sic*) αὐτῆς, ἵνα στρέψαι εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. καὶ εὐχαρίστησεν αὐτὴν πανέντιμον εὐχαριστείαν καὶ λέγει του (*sic*) ἡ πανάχραντος, ὕπαγε ἐν εἰρήνῃ. καὶ ποτὲ τὸν καιρὸν στρέψει (*sic*) σου θέλω τὸν μισθόν ὃν ἐποίησας ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. καὶ ἰδὲ τὸν τέτιον (*sic*) ληστήν ὁ τοσαῦτα πράξας διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ ἐλεήμονος Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς· ὅπερ ἐτάξατο αὐτῷ* ἡξιώθων ἐν τούτῳ, ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ᾧμα σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ. Καὶ ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου. Καὶ ὁ 'Ιησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῷ [τῷ] προκείμενῳ· ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ.

Τότε ὁ 'Ιησοῦς κράζας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ εἶπε· Πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνευμά μου. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ λόγου ἀπέπνευσεν.

[§ 12.] ἦν δὲ ὥσει ὥρα ἔκτη, καὶ παραντίκα, σεισμὸς γὰρ³ ἐγένετο μέγας εἰς τὴν γῆν ᾧπασαν, ὥστε πᾶς ὁ κόσμος ἔφριξε· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σφοδροῦ σεισμοῦ ἐσχίζοντο αἱ πέτραι, ἡνοίγοντο καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τῶν δικαίων ἠγέρθησαν· καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος,

¹ Sic, et supra semper μονογενοῦ υἱοῦ, quod non ducebam annotandum. — D.

² Sic, sed ita ut dubium sit κ, quod etiam ν esse potest. — D.

³ Codex habet γὰρ. — D. Vide Acta Pilati, B, c. 11, apud Tischendorfium. — A.

καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη μέσον, καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐννάτης.

Καὶ τούτων πάντων γενομένων οἱ μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι φοβηθέντες ¹ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον· "Ὅτι ὄντως ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος ἦν. Λογγίνος ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος ἱστάμενος μετὰ παρρησίας εἶπεν· "Ἀλλοῦς θεοῦ υἱὸς ἦν οὗτος. Ἄλλοι ἐρχόμενοι καὶ ὀρῶντες αὐτὸν κατατύπτοντες τὰ στήθη αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου αὐθις ἐστρέφοντο ὀπίσθεν.

Ὁ δὲ ἐκατόνταρχος τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα θαύματα κατανοήσας ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὸν Πιλάτον διηγήσατο ταῦτα. Ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐθαύμασε καὶ ἐξεπλήγη, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς λύπης τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησε. Διεμηνύσατο δὲ, καὶ ἦλθεν ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον, ἀφ' οὗ διέβη τὸ σκότος· καὶ εἶπε — πρὸς τὸν λαὸν — ὁ Πιλάτος· Εἶδετε, πῶς σεισμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο; εἶδετε πῶς ἐσχίσθη τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ μέσον; εἶδετε πῶς ἐγένετο σκότος ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπὸ ὥρας ἑκτῆς ἕως ὥρας ἐννάτης; Ὅντως ἐγὼ καλῶς ποιὸν [ποιῶν] τὸν καλὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐδαμῶς φονεῦσαι προεθυμούμην.

Ἀκούσωμεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς μαρτυρίας Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτου· ἦν ² ὁμολόγησεν (sic) ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα ἄρεον πάγος (sic) περὶ τοῦ γεγονότος καὶ φρικτοῦ θαύματος τοῦ σκότου τούτου τοῦ γενομένου ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκείνην ἡμέραν τοῦ πάθους τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὗτος οὖν ὁ Διονύσιος, ὁ ὑπερμέγιστος καὶ θαυμαστὸς φιλόσοφος καὶ διδάσκαλος τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἰδὼν τὰ τοσαῦτα σημεῖα ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ τὰς ἐν πολλῇ δυνάμει ταραχὰς καὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτου γεναμένου (sic) σκότου ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν τῆς οἰκουμένης, εὐθύς μεγαλοφώνως καὶ ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ εἶπεν· ἄρχοντες, ἐν ἀληθείᾳ λέγω ὑμᾶς (sic)· τοῦτο τὸ σκότος ὅπερ ἦλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ παρῆλθεν τὸ φῶς ἐναντίως τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ἡλίου μαρτυρῶ καὶ γινώσσεσθε πάντες τούτῳ (sic)· ὅτι ἡ ἐν σπάθῃ

[πάθει?] ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστὸς, ἡ ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἀπέλεσαι (sic)· καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸς νοήσας ὑπὸ τῆς μεγίστης πείρας τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλείας, καὶ μετὰ τριῶν ἐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς αὐτοῦ λαληθεῖς [λαληθείσης] ὁμολογίσεως [ὁμολογήσεως], οὗτος ὁ Διονύσιος διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος ἐπίστευσεν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, καὶ ἐβαπτίστην [ἐβαπτίσθη] εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ πλείστους ἄλλους ἐδίδαξεν καὶ ἐβαπτίσθησαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, θεοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τέλος πάντων μετὰ τῆς ἐξόδου αὐτοῦ, ἦγον μετὰ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς ὁ Διονύσιος ἠξιώθη (sic) καὶ πολλῶν θαυμάτων ἐνεργητικῆς, εἰς βεβαίωσιν τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον ἐπανελθόμεν τῶν ἀγίων παθῶν.

¹ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν addit codex. — D.

² ἦν. — H.

Οἱ δὲ κακοῦργοι πάντες τὸ σύνολον οὐκ ἐπίστευον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον, ὅτι τὸ τοιοῦτον [τοιοῦτο] σκότος ἔκλειψις τοῦ ἡλίου ἐστὶ, καθὼς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις καιροῖς. Καὶ ὁ Πιλάτος λέγει αὐτῶν [αὐτοῖς]· εἰ τοῦτο τὸ σκότος ἔκλειψις τοῦ ἡλίου ἐστίν, ὡς περ λέγεται [λέγετε?], καὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἐξαίσια καὶ φρικτὰ θαύματα τί λέγετε εἶναι; καὶ οὐκ εἶχον τί ἀπολογηθῆναι.

Καὶ ταῦτα λέγων οὗτος (sic) προσελθόντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ (sic) εἶπον τῷ Πιλάτῳ· οὐ καλῶς ἐγράφησαν, κύριέ μου, τὰ γράμματα ἄνωθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· μαρτυροῦσιν γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλέα ἡμῶν· διὰ τοῦτο δεόμεθά σου, ἵνα ὀρίσης καὶ γραφεῖ [γραφεῖν]¹ ἐκεῖσε ὅτι οὗτος εἶπεν ὅτι ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Ἔφη αὐτῶν (sic) ὁ Πιλάτος· ὁ ἔγραψα, ἔγραψα. Εἰτα λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ἡμεῖς ἔχωμεν [ἔχομεν] τὴν ἐορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων διὰ τῆς αἰῶνος ἡμέρας, καὶ παρακαλούμέν σε, ἐπεὶ ἔτι πνέουσιν οἱ ἑστανρωμένοι, ἵνα κατακλασθῶσι τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτῶν, καὶ καταβιβασθῶσιν. Εἶπεν ὁ Πιλάτος· Τοῦτο γενήσεται. Ἀπέστειλεν οὖν στρατιώτας, καὶ εὗρον ἔτι πνέοντας τοὺς ληστὰς, καὶ συνέθλασαν αὐτῶν τὰ σκέλη. Τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν εὐρόντες τεθνηκότα καὶ οὐδαμῶς αὐτοῦ ἤψαντο. Τότε ἀπελθὼν εἰς στρατιώτης καὶ ἐλόγχευσε τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ πλευρᾷ, καὶ εὐθέως ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ.

Καὶ ἐπληρώθησαν οἱ λόγοι τῶν προφητῶν. Ἰερεμίας εἶπεν· δευτε ἐμβάλλωμεν ξύλον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐκστρέψωμεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γῆς ζώντων· καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ μνησθῇ ἔτι [ἔτι]· κύριε τῶν δυνάμεων, κρίναι δίκαια. Ζαχαρίας εἶπεν· καὶ ἔστησαν τὸν μισθόν μου τριάκοντα ἀργυρίοις. Ἡσαΐας εἶπεν· τὸν νότον [νῶτον] μου ἔδωκαν εἰς μάστιγας· τὰς δὲ σιαγόνας μου εἰς ῥαπτίσματα (sic)· τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου οὐκ ἀπόστρεψα (sic) ἀπὸ αἰσχύνῃς αἰμπτυσμάτων· [ἐμπτυσμάτων]· καὶ κύριος ἐγαίμηθη [ἐγενήθη] βοηθός μου. Καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς εἶπεν· ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἄμνος ἄκακος ἐναντίον τοῦ κήρατος [κείραντος] αὐτὸν, οὕτως ἄφωνος οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ· ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθει [ἤρθη]· τὴν δὲ γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται, ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ λοιπὸν ἐπληρώθησαν νῦν οἱ λόγοι τῶν προφητῶν, καθὼς καὶ προείπομεν. [Compare p. 10.]

[§ 13.] Πρὸς ἐσπέραν δὲ τῆς παρασκευῆς κανταντώσης Ἰωσήφ τις ἀνὴρ εὐγενῆς τε καὶ πλούσιος, — θεοσεβῆς — Ἰου-

¹ Sic, ut videtur, pro γραφεῖ (in fine lineæ) i.e. γράφειν. — D.

δαῖος, εὐρών τὸν Νικόδημον, ὃν προφθάσας ὁ λόγος ἐδήλωσε, λέγει αὐτῷ· οἶδα ὅτι ζῶντα τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἡγάπας, καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἡδέως ἤκουες· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰδὼν σε μαχόμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· εἰ δοκεῖ σοι οὖν, πορευθῶμεν πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον καὶ αἰτησώμεθα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πρὸς ταφὴν, ὅτι καὶ μεγάλη ἐστὶν ἁμαρτία κεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἄταφον. Δέδοικα, λέγει ὁ Νικόδημος, μήπως ὀργισθέντος τοῦ Πιλάτου καὶ πάθω τι κακόν· εἰ δὲ σὺ μόνος ἀπελθὼν καὶ αἰτήσας λάβῃς τὸν τεθνηκότα, τότε καὶ γὰρ συνοδεύσω σοι, καὶ τὰ πρὸς κηδῖαν [κηδείαν] ἐπιτήδεια πάντα συνδιαπράξομαι.

Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Νικοδήμου, ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἀτενίσας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, καὶ αἰτησάμενος μὴ διαμαρτύσαι [διαμαρτῆσαι] τῆς αἰτησεως, ἀπήλθε πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον· καὶ παραγορεύσας ἐκαθέστη. εἰτα φησὶν πρὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ δακρύων· δέομαί σου, κύριέ μου, εἰ τι παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τῇ μεγαλειότητί σου αἰτήσομαι, μὴ ὀργισθῆναί μοι. Ὁ δὲ ἔφη· καὶ τί ἐστὶν ὃ αἰτεῖς; Λέγει ὁ Ἰωσήφ· Ἰησοῦν τὸν ξένον τὸν καλὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ὑπὸ φόβον [οἱ] Ἰουδαῖοι¹ κατήνεγκαν εἰς τὸ σταυρῶσαι, τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο θέλω, παρακαλῶ, ἵνα δῶς μοι πρὸς ταφὴν· δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον, ἵνα τὸν ξένον τοῦτον κηδεύσω. δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον, ἵνα τὸν ἐν (sic) ξένης χώρας ὄντα κηδεύσω τὸν ξένον·² δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον ὅπου (sic) ὁ Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριότης τοῦτον τὸν ξένον, αὐτὸν ἐπαρέδωκεν (sic) τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀδικως· δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον, ὅπου ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἤχεν [εἶχεν] ἄλλον οὐδέν (sic)· δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον, ἵνα κηδεύσω αὐτὸν τὸν ξένον μετὰ κλαυθοῦ καὶ ὀδυρμοῦ· δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον, ἵνα ὡς³ ξένος τοῦτοις οὐκ ἔχει ἀδελφὸν ἡμεῖς⁴ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ· δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον, ὅπου καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἔφυγον, καὶ οὐκ ἦν κἀν (sic) τις κηδεύσαι τοῦτον

τὸν ξένον· δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον, ἵνα τὸν Ἰησοῦν μου κηδεύσω. δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον⁵ τὸν υἱὸν τῆς Μαρίας κηδεύσω. δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον, ὅπου οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι αὐτὸν κατεμαστίγωσαν· δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον, ὅπου τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνέστησεν· δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον, ὅπου τοὺς λεπροὺς ἐκαθάρσεν [ἐκαθάρίσεν]· δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον, ὅπου τοὺς δαίμονας ἀπέλασεν· δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον, ὅτι διὰ τὸν φόβον αὐτοῦ [αἱ] πέτραι αἰσχίσθησαν [ἐσχίσθησαν]· δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον, ὅτι διὰ τὸν φόβον⁶ τὰ μνήματα ἠνεόχθησαν· δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον, ὅπου τὸν Ἀδάμ σὺν προφῆταις ἀνέστησεν· δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν ξένον, ὅπου τὸ καταπέτασμα διὰ τὸν φόβον αὐτοῦ ἐσχίσθη (sic) εἰς δύο· δός μοι τοῦτον τὸν πτωχὸν καὶ πένητα· δός μοι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ τεθνηκότος, ἵνα τοῦτον καταφιλήσω ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει μας [μου]· ὅτι ἐκεῖνος καὶ γὰρ πλεῖστα ἡγαπούμεθα (sic)· δός μοι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μου, ἵνα καταφιλήσω τὴν πληγὴν τῆς ἀχράντου πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ· δώρησαί μοι τοῦτον τὸν νεκρὸν, ἵνα λάβω αὐτὸν κατακαλύψαι τὴν γῆν (sic)· δώρησαί μοι τὸ τρισμακάριστον σῶμα, ὅπερ νεκρούμενον ἡ κτίσις ἐπένησεν· δώρησαί μοι σῶμα, ὅπερ ἀποπνεῶν ὁ ναὸς θεασάμενος περιέσχισεν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ

¹ Sine οἱ. — D.

² Additur in margine ὅπου τὴν κεφαλὴν κλήγοι οὐκ ἔχῃ, sic. — D.

³ Sic, cum spatiolo unius literæ. — D.

⁵ Sine ἵνα. — D.

⁴ Sic hæc omnia. — D.

⁶ Sine αὐτοῦ. — D.

κατατέτασμα· δώρησαί μοι σῶμα, δι' οὐ-
περ κρεμαμένον αὐτοῦ αἱ πέτραι ἐσχίσθη-
σαν· δώρησαί μοι σῶμα, δι' οὐπερ κρεμα-
μένον αὐτοῦ ἐσαλευθήσαν αἱ ῥίζαι πᾶσαι
τῆς γῆς· δώρησαί μοι σῶμα, ὅπως κατα-
φιλήσω τὰ τραύματα τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ
χειρῶν, δι' ὧν τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἑθεραπεύ-
θησαν τὰ τραύματα· ψηλαφήσω τὴν
ἄχραντον ἐκείνην καὶ ἁγίαν πλευρὰν, ἃς
ἦς ἐπήγαγεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ ἀναγεννή-
σεως· ἐνταφιάσωσιν αἱ χεῖρες αὐταὶ τὸν
μέλλοντα λυεῖν τὸ θανάτον τὰ σπάργανα·
κηδεύσωσιν οὗτοι οἱ ἄμαρτωλοὶ δάκτυλοι
τὸν πάσης δικαιοσύνης ἐργάτην καὶ παι-
δευτὴν· δώρησαί μοι τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα, ὃ
οὐκ ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐτεβήκη [ἐτεβήκει], ὡς κρά-
τιστε ἐξουσιάρχᾳ· δέομαι τῇ μεγαλειό-
τητί σου μὴ παρακούσης τῆς αἰτήσεώς
μου. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· καὶ τί γέγονεν
ὅτι μαρτυρηθέντα τοῦτον ὑπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς
αὐτοῦ ἐπι μαγαίαις καὶ ὑποψείᾳ (sic) ὄντα
ἤθελον λαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Καίσαρος,
καὶ οὕτω παρ' ἡμῶν εἰς θάνατον ἐκδοθέντα·
τιμᾶσθαι αὐτὸς τοῦτον τὸν νεκρὸν ἐπιτρέ-
ψωμεν; Ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ περιλῦπος γενόμενος
καὶ δακρύσας τοῖς ποσὶ προσέπεσε τὸν Πι-
λάτου, Μή σοι, λέγων, κυρίε μου, ἐπὶ νε-
κρῷ φθόνος τις ἐπιγενήηται· πᾶσα γὰρ
κακία ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ δεῖ συναπόλυσθαι
[συναπόλλυσθαι] τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· ἐγὼ δὲ
οἶδα τὴν μεγαλειότητά σου, πόσα ἐσπού-
δασας ὥστε μὴ σταυρωθῆναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν·
καὶ πόσα πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὑπὲρ αὐ-
τοῦ εἶπας, τὰ μὲν παραινῶν, τὰ δὲ καὶ
θυμούμενος· καὶ ὕστερον, πῶς τὰς χεῖρας
ἀπένιψας, καὶ μηδαμῶς ἔχειν μέρος ἀπε-
φώνω μετὰ τῶν ἐθελόντων ἀποκτανθῆναι
αὐτόν. ἐφ' οἷς ἅπασι δέομαί σου μὴ
ἀποστραφῆναι τὸν αἰτησίαν μου. Οὕτω
τοῖνυν ἐπικείμενον ἰδὼν ὁ Πιλάτος τὸν
Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἰκετεύοντα καὶ δακρύοντα,
ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν λέγων· ἀπιθι, χαρίζομαί
σοι τὸν τοιοῦτον νεκρὸν, καὶ τοῦτον λαβὼν
πρᾶττε ὅσα σοι βουλήτᾳ. Τότε Ἰωσήφ,
εὐχαριστήσας τῷ Πιλάτῳ καὶ καταφιλή-
σας αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια, ἐξῆλ-
θεν χαίρων, τῇ καρδίᾳ μὲν χαίρων, ὥς
τὸ ποδοῦμενον (sic) τυχῶν, τοὺς ὀφθαλ-
μοὺς δὲ φέρων ἔτι δακρύοντας· οὕτω καὶ
τὴν χαρὰν εἶχεν λελυπημένος, καὶ τὴν
λύπην χαίρων καὶ ἀγαλλόμενος. Ἀπασιν

[ἀπεισιν?] οὖν πρὸς τὸν Νικόδημον, καὶ τὰ
γεγόμενα πάντα διασαφεῖ. διότι δὲ κακέι-
νος εὐσεβὴς καὶ ἡγάτα τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ
εἶπε τούτῳ πάντα τὰ τοῦ Πιλάτου. Ἐξω-
νησάμενοι δὲ σμύρνην καὶ ἄλδην, ἑκάτον
λίτρας, καὶ μνημείον καινόν, ἐκαθήλυν
[καθεῖλυν?] τὸ σῶμα καὶ (sic) ἐν σιδόνι
[σινδόνι] λευκῇ, ἅμα σὺν τῇ θεοτόκῃ καὶ
τῇ Μαγδαλνῇ Μαρίᾳ καὶ τῇ Σαλώμῃ σὺν
τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς γυναίξιν.
Τοῦτον κηδεύσαντες ὡς ἔθος ἐν τῷ τάφῳ
κατέθεντο. Ἡ δὲ θεοτόκος ἤρξατο θρηνεῖν
καὶ ἔλεγε κλαίονσα· πῶς σε κλαύσω, νιέ
μου, θεωρῶν (sic) σε ἀδικῶς θνήσκοντα;
πῶς θεωρῶ σε σάρκα μου; πῶς ζήσω χω-
ρίς σου; Εἴθε πρὸ σοῦ ἀποθανεῖν εἶχον.
Οἱμοι οἱμοι νιέ μου, ποῦ ἡ ἐξουσία σου;
ὦ φῶς ὁμμάτων μου, πῶς ὑπεμεινας τὴν
σφαγὴν ταύτην; μὴ μίαν μόνην, ἀλλὰ τὰς
πολλὰς. Πῶς οὐκ ἀπέστεilas πῦρ ἐξ οὐ-
ρανοῦ κατακαῦσαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους; εἰ γὰρ
θνητὸς φαίνη διὰ τὴν τῶν βροτῶν σωτη-
ρίαν, ἀλλ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ποιητὴς εἶ.
πῶς οὐ κατεσχίσθη ὁ οὐρανὸς θεωρῶν τὸν
θανάτον σου τὸν ἀδικον; εὐχαριστῶ, νιέ,
τοῦ ἡλίου σου, ὅτι ἀπημαυρώθην (sic) καὶ
τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἐσχίσθη καὶ ἐφοβήθη· εὐχα-
ριστῶ σας (sic) πέτραι μου, ὅτι ἐσχίσθητε,
ἰδὼν (sic) τὴν ἀνομίαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ
τὸν πικρὸν θάνατον τοῦ υἱοῦ μου. πῶς οὐ
μὴ σε θρηνήσω, νιέ μου; πῶς τὸ ἐμὸν
πρόσωπον οὐ σπαράξω τοῖς (sic) ὀνύξιν;
τοῦτο ἐκείνον (sic) ἐστίν, νιέ μου, ὅπερ
Συνεῶν ὁ πρεσβύτερος προείπε μοι, ὅτε σε
τεσσαρακοθήμερον βρεφὸς ἡγαγον τῷ
ναῶ· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ῥομφαία, ἥτις νῦν
κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν μου διέρχεται· τίς τὰ
ἐμὰ δάκρυα, γλυκύτατέ μου νιέ, κατα-
παύσῃ [καταπαύσει]; πάντως οὐδεὶς, εἰ μὴ
σύ μόνος, ἔαν, καθὼς εἶπας, ἀναστήσει
τριήμερος. Ἡ Μαγδαλνῇ Μαρία κλαί-
ονσα ἔλεγε· ἀκούσατε, λαοί, φυλαί, γλῶσ-
σαι, καὶ μάθετε ποίῳ θανάτῳ οἱ παράνο-
μοι Ἰουδαῖοι ἐποίησαν τῶν μυρίων καλλῶν
πρὸς αὐτοὺς πεπονηκότα παραδεδώκασι.²
ἀκούσατε καὶ θανμάσατε. τίς ἀκουστὰ
ποιήσῃ ταῦτα πρὸς ἅπαντα κόσμους; ἐγὼ
ἐν Ῥώμῃ μόνῃ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀτελεύ-
σομαι· ἐγὼ τοῦτο δηλώσω, ὅσον κακὸν
ὁ Πιλάτος, τοῖς παρανόμοις Ἰουδαίοις πι-
θόμενος, πέπραχεν. Ὡσαύτως δώνυρετο καὶ

¹ "Involverunt." — D.² Omnia sic. — D.

ὁ Ἰωσήφ, λέγων· οἱμοι οἱμοι γλυκύτατε Ἰησοῦ, ἐξ ἀνθρώπων φίλε ἐξαισιώτατε, εἰ χρή με καὶ ἀνθρώπον ὀνομάζειν σε, τὸν οἷα οὐδέποτε πεποίηκεν ἀνθρώπος θαύματα ἐργασάμενον. πῶς σε κηδεύσω, θεέ μου; πῶς σε ἐνταφιάσω, φιλάνθρωπε; νῦν ἔδει μοι συμπαρεῖναι οὓς ἐν ὀλίγοις ἄρτοις ἐξέ-

θρεψας· οὕτω γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἔδοξα τῆς ἀξίας ἀπολυπούμενος [ἀπολιπούμενος]. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ὠδύροντο. εἶτα ὁ μὲν Ἰωσήφ μετὰ τοῦ Νικοδήμου ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς τὰ ἴδια· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ θεοτόκος μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν συμπάρωντος καὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου αὐταῖς.

Ταῦτα γνωρίσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πραχθέντα παρά τε Ἰωσήφ καὶ τοῦ Νικοδήμου, ἐταράχθησαν κατ' αὐτῶν μεγάλως, καὶ διαμηνυσάμενοι τῷ Ἰωσήφ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς Ἀννας τε καὶ Καϊάφας εἶπον αὐτῷ· Διὰ τί ἐποίησας τὴν κηδεῖαν ταύτην ἐπὶ τῷ νεκρῷ Ἰησοῦ; Λέγει Ἰωσήφ· Ἐγὼ οἶδα τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἄνδρα δίκαιον, ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν κατὰ πάντα, καὶ οἶδα ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἀπὸ φθόνου ὥκονομήσατε τὸν φόνον αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐκήδευσα αὐτόν. Τότε ὀργισθέντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ κρατήσαντες τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἔβαλλον [ἔβαλον] αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Εἰ μὴ αὔριον καὶ σέ, ὡς ἐκείνον, ἐφενεύσαμεν ἄν· τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον τηρούμενον (sic) τῇ δὲ κυριακῇ πρῶτ' θανάτῳ παραδοθήσῃ. Εἶπον ταῦτα, καὶ τὴν εἰρκτὴν τῇ σφραγίδι ἐσημειώσαντο, κλείθροις οὔσαν παντοίοις ἡσφαλισμένην.

Τότε Ἰωσήφ καὶ Νικόδημος μετὰ Ἰω- καὶ Νικόδημος εἰς τὰ ἴδια. ἡ δὲ θεο-
άννην (sic) καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκόψαντο τόκος ἐπορεύθη μετὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην, καὶ
κοπετὸν μέγα [μέγαν]. καὶ εὔρεν (sic) ἦλθον καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες μετ' αὐτῆς πρὸς
τῷ τάφῳ, κατέθεντο. ἐπορεύθη δὲ Ἰωσήφ τὸ παραδοθῆσαι (sic) αὐτόν.

Οὕτω τοίνυν τῆς παρασκευῆς τελεσθείσης, τῷ σαββάτῳ πρῶτ' ἀπῆλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· ὁ πλάνος ἐκείνος ἔτι ζῶν εἶπεν ὅτι μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐγερθήσεται· μήπως οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς κλέψαντες αὐτόν καὶ πλανήσωσι τὸν λαὸν ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ ψεύδει, κέλευσον, δεόμεθά σου, τηρεῖσθαι τὸν τάφον αὐτοῦ. Ὁ Πιλάτος οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς στρατιώτας πεντακοσίους, οἱ

καὶ ἐκάθισαν [ἐκάθισαν] ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον, ὥστε τηρεῖν αὐτόν· θέμενοι καὶ σφραγίδας ¹τὸν λίθον τοῦ μνήματος, ἐφύλαττον αὐτὸν τῷ (sic) σάββατον, ἕως ὄρθρου βαθέος τῆς κυριακῆς. Μετὰ τοῦτο σεισμὸς πάλιν ἐγένετο μέγας πρῶτον, εἶτα ἄγγελος κυρίου ἀστραπηφόρος ἐλθὼν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐκύλισε τὸν λίθον ἐκ τοῦ μνήματος, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ (sic) δὲ τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἀπενεκρώθησαν οἱ στρατιῶται. Τότε ἀνέστη ὁ κύριος· ἤγειρε τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ πάντας τοὺς προφήτας, οὓς εἶχεν ὁ διάβολος ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, ἤγειρε δὲ κακεῖ πάντας τοὺς πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτόν.

Εἶη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου εὐλογημένον
σὺν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ πνεύ-
ματι

νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν
αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

Τέλος τῶν ἀγίων παθῶν καὶ ἀρχῇ τῆς
ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

[§ 14.] Τῆς κυριακῆς οὖν διαφωσκούσης συμβουλήν ἐποίησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς μετὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ἀπέστειλαν ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτωσαι αὐτόν· ἀνοίξαντες δὲ οὐχ εὗρον αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξενίζοντο ἐπὶ τούτῳ, πῶς τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων, καὶ σώων τῶν κλειδῶν, καὶ τῶν σφραγίδων εὗρεθεις, Ἰωσήφ δὲ ἐγένετο ἄφαντος. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς στρατιώτης ἐκ τῶν τηρούντων τὸν τάφον εἶπεν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ· Μάθετε, ὅτι ἀνέστη ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Πῶς; Ὁ δὲ ἔφη· Σεισμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο πρῶτον· εἶτα ἄγγελος κυρίου ἀστραπηφόρος ἐλθὼν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐκύλισε τὸν λίθον τοῦ μνημείου, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου αὐτοῦ ἐγενόμεθα πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται — ὡς [ῥοι] νεκροί, καὶ — οὔτε φυγεῖν ἐδυνάμεθα οὔτε λαλῆσαι. Ἠκούσαμεν δὲ τοῦ

¹ Sine ἐπὶ vel alia præp[ositione]. — D.

ἀγγέλου λέγοντος πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς ἐλθούσας ἐκείσε τὸν τάφον ἰδεῖν·

“Οτι μὴ φοβεῖσθε ὑμεῖς· οἶδα γάρ, ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε. Οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε· ἀλλ’ ἀνέστη, καθὼς προεῖπεν ὑμῖν. Κύψατε καὶ ἴδατε [ἴδετε] τὸν τάφον, ὅπου ἔκειτο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

Πορεύθητε δὲ καὶ εἶπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ,¹ ὅτι ἡγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ πορευέσθωσαν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ· ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν εὐρήσουσι. Διὰ τοῦτο λέγω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ τοῦτο πρότερον.

Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας· Ποῖαι ἦσαν αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ἐλθούσαι εἰς τὸ μνήμα, καὶ διατί οὐκ ἐκρατήσατε αὐτάς; Λέγουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται· Ἐκ τοῦ φόβου καὶ τῆς θεωρίας μόνης τοῦ ἀγγέλου οὕτε λαλεῖν οὔτε σαλεύειν ἐδυνάμεθα. Εἶπον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Ζῇ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι οὐδὲν πιστεύομεν, ὅσον λέγετε. Λέγουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται· Τοσαῦτα θαύματα ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε, καὶ ἄρτι μέλλετε πιστεῦν ἡμῖν; Ἀληθῶς λέγετε, ὅτι ζῇ ὁ θεός, καὶ ὄντως ἀληθῶς ζῇ καὶ ὃν ὑμεῖς ἑσταυρώσατε. Πλὴν οὐκ (sic) ἠκούσαμεν, ὅτι τὸν Ἰωσήφ εἶχετε ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ κεκλεισμένον· εἰτα ἀνοίξαντες τὰς θύρας οὐχ εὔρατε αὐτόν; Δότε οὖν ὑμεῖς τὸν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ οὕτω δώσομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἐκ φυλακῆς φυγόντα εὐρήσετε αὐτόν εἰς Ἀριμαθαίαν² τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ. Λέγουσι καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται· Ἀπέλθατε (sic) καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, καὶ εὐρήσετε τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καθὼς ὁ ἀγγελος εἶπε ταῖς γυναῖξιν.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι φοβηθέντες εἶπον τοῖς στρατιώταις· Ὅρατε, ἵνα μηδενὶ τούτων τὸν λόγον εἴπητε, καὶ πάντες πιστεύσουσιν³ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Οὗ χάριν ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀργύρια πολλὰ, ἵνα εἰπωσιν· ἡμῶν κοιμωμένων ἦλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔκλεψαν αὐτόν. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται εἶπον· Φοβούμεθα, μήπως ἀκούσῃ ὁ Πιλάτος, ὅτι ἐλάβομεν ἡμεῖς ἀργύρια, καὶ φονεύσει⁴ ἡμᾶς. Οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι εἶπον· Λάβετε αὐτὰ,

¹ In marg. add. e Marc. xvi. 7, καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ. — T.

² Scr. Ἀριμαθαίαν. — T.

³ Fort. πιστεύουσιν. — T.

⁴ Fort. φονεύσῃ. — T.

καὶ ἐγγνώμεθα ἡμεῖς, ἵνα δώσωμεν τῷ Πιλάτῳ ἀπολογίαὺν ἀντὶ ὑμῶν· μόνον εἶπατε, ὅτι ἐκοιμᾶσθε. Καὶ ἔλαβον οἱ στρατιῶται τὰ ἀργύρια καὶ εἶπον καθὼς ἐπαρηγγέλθησαν [παρηγγέλθησαν]. Καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ὁ τοιοῦτος ψευδὴς λόγος λέγεται ὑπὸ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις.

[§ 15.] Μεθ' ἡμέρας δὲ ὀλίγας ἦλθον ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἄνθρωποι τρεῖς. Ἦν ὁ εἰς ἱερεὺς ὀνόματι Φινεὺς· ὁ ἕτερος Λευΐτης ὀνόματι Ἀγγέος.¹ ὁ δ' ἄλλος στρατιώτης ὀνόματι Ἀδᾶς. Οὗτοι ἦλθον πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ εἶπον αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ λαῷ· Τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, εἶδομεν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ μετὰ τῶν ἑνδεκα μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν διδάσκοντα αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγοντα· Πορευθήτε εἰς πάντα κόσμον, καὶ κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· καὶ ὁ πιστεύσας καὶ βαπτισθῇ [βαπτισθεῖς] σωθήσεται, ὁ δὲ ἀπιστήσας κατακριθήσεται. Καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. Καὶ ὀράκαμεν [ἐωράκαμεν] αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν πεντακοσίων ἐπέκεινα.

Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι εἶπον πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους τρεῖς· Δότε δόξαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ μετανοήσατε, ἕφ' οἷς καταψεύδεσθε. Ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ τρεῖς οὗτοι· Ζῇ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, οὐ ψευδόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς ὑμῖν λέγομεν.

Τότε ἐξώρκισεν αὐτοὺς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς ἀργύρια ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἕτερον τόπον, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ κυρίου ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κηρύξωσιν.

¹ SCR. Ἀγγαῖος. — T.

Although the Acts of Pilate, as originally written, cannot have extended beyond what has already been given, yet Mr. Duebner's collation of extracts in Thilo, on pp. 628 – 661, is subjoined.

Page.	Line of note.	Thilo.	Codex.
629	3	σταυρώσετε. ¹	
"	7	μηδενὶ	μηδέν
635	2	ἀκούσαντες	ἀκούσας
"	9	Ἀριμαθαίαν	Ἀριματθίαν
637	7	στρατιωτῶν [καὶ]	στρατιωτῶν καὶ
"	8	ποιήσομεν	ποιήσωμεν
"	16	ἐβουλόμεθα	ἐβουλόμεθα
639	15	φιλῶν	φίλων
"	17	αὐτὴν	ταύτην
644	16	εἶπε	εἶπὲ
650	12	ὄρω	ὀρώ
"	13	συρόμενον ²	
"	16	κρατήσας	κρατῇ ³
"	18	Ἐπιστράφου	ἐπιστράφου
"	20	πρόχθες	προεχθές
655	8	Συμεῶνα	Συμεῶν
661	8	ἐμπροσθε	ἐμπροσθεν
"	9	εἶπαν	εἶπον
"	17	ἀλήθεια	ἀληθῶς

¹ σταυρώσετε, quod notavit Thilo, a prima manu erat σταυρώσειτε, ut legendum videatur σταυρώσητε. — D.

² Thilonis correctio συρόμενον improbabilis est, quia codex *perfectum* testatur, ἐσυκομένον. Melior nunc non succurrit. — D.

³ Pro κρατεῖ. — D.

Concluding Remarks by Mr. Duebner.

Habentur hæc paulo post initium columnæ alterius folii 276 recti. Supersunt columnæ 12, quibus non opus esse significasti. Ceterum *folia* quæ dicit Thilo, non *paginae* ut scribis, sunt quatuor columnarum, quarum quæque continet lineas 32 medii fere digiti longitudini æquales. Reliqua ex hoc codice edita contuli usque ad finem paginae 682 et bene relata esse vidi: quare ibi substiti.

THE
BELIEF
OF THE
FIRST THREE CENTURIES
CONCERNING
CHRIST'S MISSION TO THE UNDERWORLD.

BY
FREDERIC HUIDEKOPER.

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BY FREDERIC HUIDEKOPER.

PREFACE.

THE following treatise was commenced nearly three years ago, under the supposition that it could be finished in three or four days, and with no further intention than that of translating some passages on the subject of which it treats, as one evidence among many that the Gospels did not originate in the opinions of the Early Christians. It grew on the writer's hands, led to investigations which he had not anticipated, and was delayed by other duties.

The size to which it has grown is not, probably, disproportionate to the place held by its subject among early Christian views ; and if we are ever to have a satisfactory picture of their theology, it must be by giving to each feature its due proportions. The man who should treat of Millerism by ransacking its productions for every casual allusion to the Atonement, Original Sin, or Predestination, and should spread the result of his labors over volumes, while he barely hinted at a belief by the Millerites of the Second Coming, would give a very disproportioned picture of his subject. Yet such a picture would not be more faulty than many a portraiture of the early centuries. The writings of the Fathers have been searched for their opinions on points concerning which they scarcely thought at all, whilst subjects of great interest to them have been neglected. Such of their ex-

pressions as could be made to bear on modern controversies have been extracted from their own systems of thought, and reconstructed into modern systems. The process has resembled that of a man who should reconstruct the fragments of Grecian statuary and temples into crucifixes and Gothic churches, and should expect by a treatise on each fragment to convey a good idea of the original design. A reproduction of the original work would be simpler, and answer the purpose better.

That a subject so prominent among the Early Christians as the Underworld Mission should have been passed by without a word, or with scarcely a word, by leading Ecclesiastical Historians, is singular. The elaborately terse work of Gieseler does not allude to it. Neander, who is regarded as having penetrated deeply into the spirit of the ancient Church, has written what makes, in Torrey's Translation, a large and closely printed volume, on the first three centuries. Of this, three hundred and twenty pages are devoted to Catholic and Heretical doctrines, without, I believe, any but an insufficient allusion to the Underworld Mission (Vol. 1, p. 654), and a mention of Marcion's peculiarity (Ibid., p. 471), although the statement (Ibid., p. 641) that Christ gave himself to the Evil One as a ransom for mankind seems to require, in order to render it intelligible, some explanation concerning Satan's Lordship over the Underworld, and Christ's descent thither. Mosheim, Milner, and Priestley, so far as I have been able to ascertain by a cursory examination, do not mention Christ's mission below in their respective Church Histories, though the first of these, in his copious Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians before Constantine, a work, in the original, of nearly one thousand quarto pages, casually introduces (Vol. 1, p. 495, edition

of Dr. Murdock) a mention of Marcion's peculiar bias on the subject.

The treatise apparently of most reputation as a history of Christ's descent to the Underworld is by J. A. Dietelmaier, *Historia Dogmatis de Descensu Christi ad Inferos*. My efforts to procure it were unsuccessful. The few works or articles that I have seen on the subject of this treatise did not prove satisfactory. J. L. Koenig, in his *Lehre von Christi Hoellenfahrt*, pp. 260–268, has filled nine pages with the titles alone of Works, Articles, and Sermons on this subject. His work did not reach me until my own was nearly finished. An examination of the titles of some of the works which he has mentioned, and a perusal of occasional extracts from, or references to, others, convinced me that the mass of them would aid my investigations but little. Most of them I suspect to be written from a doctrinal point of view. If this suspicion be correct, Christ's descent to the Underworld must in its most uninteresting shape, namely, as a point of doctrine, have occasioned an unusual amount of controversy, whilst its interesting and historical bearings have been overlooked.

The belief by the Early Christians of their special exemption from the Underworld, effected by Christ's descent thither, was to my own mind novel, and, as a point of history, interesting. Whether it will prove equally so to others, I do not know.

My chief object in writing has been the argument for the Genuineness of the Gospels, in § XXV. The tone in which Christianity has frequently been defended must be my excuse for not thinking it superfluous to add, that, though I would deem no toil misplaced which should give men a deeper confidence in the supernatural character of

Christianity, yet I hope that I should recognize mental superiority, appreciate moral worth, and feel attracted towards whatever was lovely in one who did not accept Christianity as a revelation, equally as in one who did.

May I caution the reader who recoils from Church authority, not to go to the opposite extreme of judging the Fathers to be weaklings because they had not outgrown the errors of their times? He who should judge Julius Cæsar by his account of catching wild beasts¹ in Germany, or Tacitus by his story of the Phoenix,² might readily under-estimate them. Our missionaries have not found that a communication of Christianity at once dispels the former education of their converts. Why should it have been different in the second century. In Howard Malcom's "Travels in Southeastern Asia" (Vol. 1, note on p. 262, edit. of 1839), the reader will find that "it was some time before the Christian converts [in

¹ "There are some beasts also which are called Alces. These are like goats in figure and in the diversity of their skins, but are somewhat larger. They lack horns, and have legs devoid of joints; nor do they lie down when they rest; nor if they by any accident fall, can they get up again. Trees serve them for couches. They place themselves against them, and, leaning but a little, take their rest. When the hunters perceive, from the marks, whither they are accustomed to betake themselves, they either root up or cut all the trees in that place, so that their upper part is left with the appearance as if they were standing. When the animals recline here as usual, they overturn the infirm trees by their weight, and fall with them." — *Cæsar, De Bello Gallico*, 6, 27.

² "In the consulships of Paulus Fabius and Lucius Vitellius the Phoenix bird, after a long circuit of years, came [again] into Egypt, and afforded to the most learned both from among the natives and the Greeks, material for much discussion concerning the wonder. I will narrate the things in which they agree, and others which, though doubtful, are not absurd subjects for investigation. That bird (*animal*) is sacred to the sun, and those who have described its form agree that it differs from other birds in its appearance and in the separation (or singularity, *distinctu*) of its feathers. Concerning the number of years

Burmah] could be reconciled to Mr. Judson's performing the marriage ceremony, or being present in any way. It seemed to them absolutely obscene." Accustomed to deem the priest of their former faith polluted by presence at a wedding, they were, of course, shocked to see the minister of what they regarded as a still purer religion permit himself what would have made a priest of Burmah blush. The prepossessions of the Early Christians were not counteracted by missionaries schooled in foreign lands. Their teachers were from their own number, brought up under like influences with themselves. Why should we wonder that errors which Christianity directly, or but indirectly, opposed, and still more those of which it said nothing, were not at once dispelled from the minds of its professors?

MEADVILLE, PA., *July* 21, 1853.

[between its visits] there are various reports. The most current assigns a space of five hundred years. Some assert an interval of one thousand four hundred and sixty-one, and say that the former birds first in the reign of Sesosidis, afterwards in that of Amasis, then in that of Ptolemy, the third king of the Macedonian line, flew to the city called Heliopolis [city of the sun], with a great accompaniment of other birds, astonished at the unusual appearance. The ancient part of it is, however, obscure. Between Ptolemy and Tiberius were less than two hundred and fifty years, whence some have supposed this last Phoenix to be a spurious one, not from the land of Arabia, and to have had nothing belonging to it of those things which were established by ancient tradition. When the number of [its] years is finished, and death approaches, it constructs a nest in its own country, and infuses into it a producing power out of which the fetus springs. The first care of this when grown is to bury its parent, nor that rashly, but having taken up a load of Myrrha [an Eastern stone] and tried it during a long journey, when it proves equal to the burden and to the flight, it takes its parent's body and bears it within the altar of the sun and burns it. These things are uncertain and increased by fables; but there can be no doubt that that bird is sometimes seen in Egypt." — **Tacitus**, *Annals*, 6, 28.

At the foregoing date a few copies were struck off mainly to facilitate revision. An edition was published in 1854, which has since several years been exhausted. Applications for it continued, but the writer has not until the present date found leisure to reprint. The present edition contains, aside from minor alterations, some additional citations from Tertullian on pages 53, 91, 99, 100, 158; one from Lactantius on page 31, as to the object of Christ's death; some remarks, page 164, on a passage of Virgil; page 153 on a passage of Cicero; and pages 163, 164 on the Pseudo Josephus. The change of chief moment is one on page 146, with reference to the date and cause of Christ's deification by some of the early Christians.

In two or three instances (pages 4, 19, 146, 164, 172), reference has been made for fuller information to a work, *Judaism at Rome*, which the writer has in press, but which will not appear for some months.

MEADVILLE, PA., *March* 31, 1876.

In the present edition there has, besides minor matters, been added to the Appendix a Note concerning the Homilies on Luke.

MEADVILLE, PA., *March* 31, 1882.

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CHRIST'S MISSION TO THE UNDERWORLD.

§ I. PRELIMINARY.

It has been supposed¹ that in "the Homeric and Hesiodic ages, the world or universe was" regarded as "a hollow globe divided into two equal portions by the flat disk of the earth"; that "the superior hemisphere was named HEAVEN, the inferior one TARTARUS." There is nothing inherently improbable in the idea that such a view should have once prevailed; but the passages² adduced in its favor are insufficient to prove it.

At the Christian era the Underworld appears to have been regarded as an immense cavern in the depths of the earth. No living man was supposed to have seen it; nor had any from among the dead returned to describe it. The descriptions of it by the poets may have created or strengthened general impressions as to its nature, but were so obviously efforts of fancy, or so inconsistent, that they could not establish permanent and well-defined ideas of its interior structure. He who should attempt the fruitless task of obtaining from Christians in the nineteenth century the subdivisions and interior structure of

¹ Anthon's Classical Dictionary, Art. *Tartarus*.

² They are the two following: I (Jupiter) will throw him into dark Tartarus . . . as much below Hades as heaven is from the earth." — **Homer**, *Iliad*, 8, 13–16. "They bound (the Titans) with heavy chains . . . as much below the earth as heaven is from it." — **Hesiod**, *Theog.* vv. 718–720.

heaven would soon learn to appreciate the vagueness of ancient conceptions touching the Underworld.

This vast subterranean cavern was popularly regarded as the dwelling of the human race, — a belief, of course, not shared by those sceptics who denied man's future existence, and which must have been held in a limited shape, if at all, by such as allotted the philosophic soul a super-terrestrial residence hereafter. Whether a disbelief in the Underworld AS A RESIDENCE FOR HUMAN SOULS went hand in hand with a disbelief in the very existence of such a place, may be a question. Plato so interweaves the Lower Regions with his system of natural science,³ as to warrant the supposition that others might with various modifications believe in the locality without receiving it as man's future abode.

Christians quoted the Saviour in proof that it was in the "HEART of the earth," an expression which probably does not imply that they believed the earth a sphere, or that they had any defined ideas of its shape.

At the Christian era, popular phraseology would have

³ In the *Phædo* of **Plato** the earth appears as a sphere [§ 132, (58)] hung in space and surrounded by the heavens; Tartarus (to be distinguished, evidently, from the Lower Regions), as a far distant chasm [§§ 139 – 142, (160, 161)], extending completely through the earth, into which the rivers, the ocean being one of the four principal ones, poured from above the earth and from below the earth, being never permitted to pass its centre, for the opposite side of the earth would be 'up-hill' to them. From this chasm they flowed through the earth's interior realms, and, apparently by this route, regained their former sources. The subterranean streams of mud and fire occasionally found their way out through our volcanoes.

Tertullian comments on the foregoing view of Plato, or rather on his own statement of it, by saying: "To us the Underworld (*Inferi*) is not an EXPOSED cavity nor any OPEN receptacle for the bilge-water of the world, but a vast region extending upward and downward in the earth (*in fossa terræ et in alto vastitas*), a profundity hid away in its very bowels. For we read that Christ passed the three days of his death in the HEART of the earth, that is, in an internal recess, hidden in the earth itself and hollowed out within it, and based upon yet lower abysses." — *De Anima*, c. 55, p. 353. A. B.

made little distinction between the fact of man's death, and the idea of his descent to the Lower Regions. The latter was regarded as implied in the former. When Peter quotes⁴ from the Psalms in evidence that God would not leave Christ in the Underworld, he makes no effort to prove that Christ had ever gone there. This was an inference which his hearers would probably have regarded as necessarily involved in his death.⁵ It needed no proof.

But if Christ went to the Underworld, what did he do there? This was a question not unlikely to present itself to some inquiring mind. The supposition has been made and contested, that this question suggested itself already in the Apostolic age, and that we have from the pen of Peter an attempted solution⁶ of it. To the examination of this point we shall return hereafter.⁷

On leaving the Apostolic age, we almost lose sight of the Christians in an historical chasm of sixty or eighty years. When they reappear on the hither side of it, we find, so far as their records enable us to judge, that, among all the parties into which they are divided, though with one modification hereafter to be made,⁸ a belief has become firmly established that Christ performed a mission in the Underworld. The variety of discussions as to its nature prove the universality of belief in the supposed fact of the mission itself. To these discussions we will now attend.

⁴ Acts 2, 27, 31 ; compare Psalm 16, 10.

⁵ **Lactantius** in the beginning of the fourth century seems to have regarded the like inference a reliable one concerning the Heathen gods, whom for the time being he must have regarded as deified men. "If any one," he says, "would inquire further, let him congregate such as are skilled in summoning souls from the Underworld. Let them call out Jupiter, Neptune, Vulcan, Mercury, Apollo, and Saturn the father of all ; and, when interrogated, they will speak and make confession concerning themselves and concerning God. After this let them summon Christ. He will not come nor appear, for he only abode two days in the Underworld. What can be proposed more certain than this test ?" — *Div. Inst.* 4, 27.

⁶ 1 Pet. 3, 19.

⁷ See § XI.

⁸ See § IV.

§ II. CONTROVERSY OF THE CATHOLIC CHRISTIANS WITH MARCION.

As the Christians emerge from the historical chasm mentioned in the preceding section, we find them, besides Jewish Christians, divided into two general parties, the Gnostics and Catholics, the latter being the main body of Christians. The Gnostics owed their existence to an embittered war between Jews and Heathens, on which compare Judaism at Rome, Ch. XI. § I. 1. They regarded the Old and New Testaments, not only as distinct revelations, but as proceeding from distinct beings. The author of the former was revealed in it as the Creator and Ruler of this world, and in this light they regarded him. The source of the latter was a superior Deity, concerning whom the Saviour himself had said, "*No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him*";¹ a statement which precluded the idea of His having been revealed to man at a still earlier date. Paul also had clearly distinguished, as the Marcionites thought, the "*God of this world*"² from the author of Christianity. The Catholics, on the other hand, regarded the two revelations as having their origin in the same source.

The Gnostics may be subdivided into MARCIONITES and THEOSOPHIC or ALEXANDRINE GNOSTICS, the latter branch admitting still other subdivisions. Deferring these latter for a future section, we shall here confine ourselves to the former. The Marcionites took their name and system from their leader, Marcion. His writings have perished, and we are obliged to sift out his opinions from the statements or misstatements of his opponents. He was a native of Pontus in Asia Minor. His religious system was tinged by the asceticism of his age, and his theological views were probably biased by sharpness of col-

¹ Matt. 11, 27; Luke 10, 22; Irenæus, 4, 6, 1 (4, 14); Tertul. adv. Marcion. 4, 25, p. 544. A.

² 2 Cor. 4, 4; Tertul. adv. Marcion. 5, 11, pp. 597. D., 593. A.

lision between himself and whatever was Jewish, either within or without the Christian pale. On some points his religious views contrast favorably with those of his Catholic brethren, especially with those of his ultra opponents,³ though he seems to have lacked judgment as a logician and interpreter, and to have solved not a few of his New Testament difficulties in a manner peculiar to himself, by the application of a pruning-knife to what he could not harmonize with his system.

Irenæus tells us: "Besides (Marcion's) blasphemy against [the Jewish] God, he added this, receiving indeed a mouth from the Devil, and speaking all things contrary to the truth; that Cain and those who were like him, and the Sodomites and Egyptians, and those who were like them, and in fact all the Gentiles⁴ who had walked in thorough wickedness, were saved by the Lord when he descended into the Underworld, and that they had hastened to him, and that he took them into his kingdom. But Abel and Enoch and Noah and the other Just Men, and those who belonged to the Patriarch Abraham, with all the Prophets and such as had pleased God, did not, according to the preaching of the serpent in Marcion, partecipate in the salvation. 'For since,' he said, 'they knew that their God was always trying them, and suspected that he was trying them then, they did not hasten to Jesus nor believe what he announced; and therefore' (Marcion) said 'their souls remained in the Underworld.'"⁵

Essentially the same account of Marcion's view is given in Theodoret.⁶ Epiphanius, in the latter part of the fourth century, who never suffers the follies of heretics to be

³ See Neander, Church History, Torrey's trans., Vol. 1, pp. 327, 328. **Moehler**, the Roman Catholic, speaks of Marcion as "the most pious of Gnostics." See his Symbolism, p. 274.

⁴ Or possibly, "all such nations as had walked." A Latin translation of the passage alone remains, nor does the parallel Greek of Theodoret here assist us.

⁵ Contra Hæres. 1, 27, 3 (1, 29).

⁶ Hæret. Fabulæ, 1, 24; Opera, 4, p. 158.

diminished in his account of them, specifies⁷ Cain, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram as among the worthies thus heretically saved.

Marcion was a rigid moralist, and accepted the historical accuracy of the Old Testament. On this accuracy, in fact, he based no small part of his argument for the distinction of the Jewish Deity, the JUST God, as he termed him, from the Father, the GOOD God, whom Christ had revealed. Can we then believe the statements of Irenæus and others concerning him? Or are they but misapplications which his enemies have made of general and unguarded expressions?

Marcion may have supposed the Jews in the Underworld to be essentially the same stiff-necked, perverse race which he deemed them on earth; that there, as here, the Gospel had met its chief acceptance among Gentiles. He may, too, have used in perfect good faith the argument⁸ which Irenæus puts into his mouth. Antagonism to Jewish prejudices might prompt him to specify the Egyptians, the ancient and hated enemies of Israel, as not excluded from Christ's teaching, and he may have understood the Saviour's lamentation over Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum as implying that Sodom and Gomorrah would repent⁹ at his instructions; an interpretation which

⁷ Adv. Hæres. 42, 4; Opera, 1, p. 305. A.

⁸ Based on such passages, perhaps, as the following: "*If there arise among you a prophet . . . and giveth thee a sign or wonder, and the sign or wonder come to pass whereof he spake unto thee, saying, 'Let us go after other Gods which thou hast not known, and let us serve them,' thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, . . . for the Lord your God PROVETH you.*" — Deut. 13, 1-3. "*God did TEMPT Abraham.*" — Gen. 22, 1. "*Then said the Lord, . . . The People shall go out and gather a certain rate every day, that I may PROVE them.*" — Exod. 16, 4. "*Moses said unto The People, 'Fear not; for God is come to PROVE you.'*" — Exod. 20, 20.

⁹ The idea of repentance in the narrative of Luke (10, 13) is directly connected, not with Sodom and Gomorrah, but with Tyre and Sidon; though, as an inference, it might very well bear a connection with the former. In Matthew, however, a capacity of repentance is implied for Sodom (11, 23): "*If the mighty works . . . had been done in Sodom it*

was actually put upon it by at least one Catholic writer, as will appear under the second division of the next section. But for the salvation of Cain and similar worthies there is no plausible ground discernible in Marcion's system. The connection between Cain and the Sodomites existed more probably in the minds of Marcion's opponents than in his own statements. Irenæus manifests considerable feeling in his account of Marcion; a feeling which, judging from extracts in the next section, was not confined to himself.

§ III. CONSEQUENT CONTROVERSY AMONG CATHOLICS.

1. *Ultra Anti-Gnostics or Orthodox*.¹

ALL the Catholic Fathers maintained that the Mosaic institutions were not essential to salvation. A portion of

would have remained to this day." It is true that Matthew's Gospel was one of the three which Marcion was not accustomed to use. He confined himself almost exclusively to his own expurgated copy of Luke, distrusting the Jewish prejudices of any save Paul's companion. Yet when testimony in the other Evangelists militated against what Marcion deemed Jewish preconceptions, he seems to have used it as reliable. Thus the passage, "*Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?*" (Matt. 12, 48; Mark 3, 33), though not to be found in Luke, was, according to Tertullian (*Adv. Marcion*. 4, 19, p. 531. D.), a "most constant argument of all who dispute the Lord's nativity," that is, of Marcion and his followers.

Some explanation of Marcion's exclusiveness towards Abraham and his posterity in the Underworld might be found in those remarks of the Saviour which imply an indifference to his teachings on the part of the cities most favored with them, GREATER than could have been looked for in Sodom and Gomorrah. Marcion was accustomed to push the meaning of such passages.

¹ I use the terms 'orthodox' and 'liberalist,' in the absence of better ones, to designate, not personal character, but party distinctions, for some explanation of which the reader is referred to the Appendix, Note E.

them, who from their fear of heresy may be designated as the ultra Anti-Gnostic, or Orthodox, party coincided closely with the Jews on several points. Yet, as not unfrequently happens, it was in this party — the one most nearly allied to them — that the Jews found their warmest opponents. The writers are of this semi-Jewish party, — if it may so be termed, — who have left us the most elaborate and strenuous arguments to prove the non-essential character of the Mosaic institutions. Abel, Enoch, Noah, and others had proved acceptable to God without them, and hence they were evidently unnecessary to salvation.² **Justin Martyr** affirms that they were given to the Jews solely on account of their hardness of heart; and adds, “Unless this be so, God will be calumniated as destitute of foreknowledge and as not teaching the same rules of righteousness to all for their knowledge and observance.”³

Consistently with their own arguments, the writers of this party were the last who could have restricted the benefits of Christ's Underworld mission to the Jews. Yet antipathy to Marcion seems to have made them forget their own reasoning, and reject as heresy in the Underworld what they defended as Orthodoxy on earth. In judging how much force should be attributed to the following extracts from their writings, the reader will do well to suspend his opinion until he has perused the citation from Clement, which is evidently meant as a reply to their views.

Justin Martyr, as will appear under § IX., quotes and perhaps alters a passage so as to make it the “dead from among ISRAEL” to whom the Lord preached, and cites

It would be a mistake, as regards character, to contrast Cyprian and Hermas as samples, the former of a liberalist and the latter of an exclusive. On the classification of Tertullian, the reader will please compare a note under the fifth division of § XXII.

² Justin Martyr, Dial. cc. 19, 27; Tertul. adv. Judæos, c. 2; Irenæus, 4, 16, 2 (4, 30).

³ Dial. c. 92; compare 23. Compare also the Sibylline Oracles, Book 8, line 287 (301), p. 736.

the Old Testament in proof that the FATHERS confessed him. As he was arguing to the Jews, he might have been prompted, not by opposition to Marcion; but by the desire of showing that even the Jews, and the Fathers themselves, had need of Christ. The same explanation will hardly apply to all the following extracts.

Irenæus tells us, "Therefore the Lord descended to the regions under the earth, preaching to them also his advent, the sins of such as believed on him being remitted. But all believed on him who WERE HOPING FOR HIM, that is, who had FORETOLD HIS COMING, and OBEYED HIS STATUTES,⁴ the JUST MEN,⁵ and PROPHETS, and PATRIARCHS, to whom he remitted their sins in like manner as to us."⁶ Elsewhere he states as the object of Christ's death, "That he might announce the glad tidings to ABRAHAM AND THOSE WHO WERE WITH HIM."⁷ Elsewhere he speaks of the Lord's suffering as the means of awakening his sleeping 'DISCIPLES,'⁸ a term which he, at least, would not have applied to the just Gentiles that had lived prior to Christ, and which he further explains by saying that "Christ came . . . on account of all men who from the beginning . . . had both feared and loved God . . . and DESIRED TO SEE CHRIST, and to hear his voice."⁸ The sleeping disciples on whose account he had descended to the Lower Regions were those of whom he had said to his Apostles, "*Many Prophets and Just Men have desired to see and hear what you see and hear.*"⁹ And again he

⁴ Justin and the subsequent Fathers maintained, though at the expense sometimes of consistency, that it was Jesus or the Logos who had spoken to Moses at the bush, and to the Prophets. See Appendix, Note A.

⁵ Just Men. To some extent this was a technical term for those who in the Old Testament were said to have pleased God. Compare extract from Irenæus in § II, and from Hermas on pp. 11 and 56; also *Indirect Testimony*, p. 59.

⁶ Cont. Hæres. 4, 27, 2 (4, 45).

⁷ Cont. Hæres. 5, 33, 1.

⁸ Cont. Hæres. 4, 22, 1 (4, 39).

⁹ Ibid. The uncircumcised whom Irenæus mentions at the close of the chapter as justified by faith are the Patriarchs prior to the time of Abraham in whom the Gentile Christians are "prefigured."

quotes,¹⁰ without the prophet's name, a spurious passage from the Old Testament, hereafter to be noticed, which limits the salvation that had taken place to the "SAINTS," a term that could not have included departed Gentiles, and which it may be noticed under the second division of our present head that Clement of Alexandria omits from his quotation — a *memoriter* one probably — of Matthew 27, 52, where its introduction would have spoiled his argument. It seems to have been unconsciously added to the supposed passage of the Old Testament by the prepossessions of Irenæus, since in four other quotations of it by himself and one by Justin this term does not appear.

The Epistle ascribed to **Barnabas**, in a passage to be quoted more fully hereafter, regards Christ as having suffered, "that he might render to THE FATHERS what had been promised them."¹¹

A passage in the SMALLER GREEK epistles attributed to **Ignatius** coincides in tone with the first extract above given from Irenæus: "How shall we live without him whom THE PROPHETS — being his disciples¹² through the spirit (i. e. through his supernatural communications to them) — looked for as their teacher [in the Underworld]. And on this account he whom they justly expected, being come, waked them from the dead."¹³

Tertullian represents **an opponent** of one of his views as saying, "I think (that Christ descended) to the souls of THE PATRIARCHS."¹⁴ And again he represents **opponents** as speaking of "Paradise, whither already the Patriarchs and Prophets, the companions of the Lord's resurrection, have passed from the Underworld."¹⁵ **He himself** says

¹⁰ Cont. Hæres. 5, 31, 1. See this spurious passage in § VIII.

¹¹ *Ut promissum patribus redderet*, c. 5.

¹² See Appendix, Note A.

¹³ Magnesians, c. 9 (3, 5, 6).

¹⁴ De Anima, c. 7, Opp. p. 309. D.

¹⁵ De Anima, c. 55, p. 353. C. As these opponents held the heretical view, that Christian souls went at death to Paradise, Tertullian, to whose main point the present question was unimportant, probably stated their opinions in his own phraseology.

“that Christ did not ascend the heights of heaven before he had ‘*descended into the lower parts of the earth,*’ that there he might make the PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS participators of himself.”¹⁶

The devout **Hermas**, author of *The Shepherd*, seems to have been so absorbed in the subject of practical righteousness, — or of what he mistook for it, — as to have mingled little in the polemics of his day. Yet he belonged apparently to the ultra Anti-Gnostics or Orthodox division of Catholics, and in a passage to be more fully quoted in the thirteenth section, he explains his own allegory concerning ten and twenty-five stones which were successively brought up (from the Underworld) to be built into the foundation of Christ’s Church, by saying that these stones represented the first and second ages of Just Men, — the ages as it would seem from Adam to Abraham and from Abraham to Moses, — after which thirty more are brought up representing the Prophets and ministers of the Lord under the Mosaic dispensation. The passage may have but an indirect connection with the Lord’s descent, yet the omission of Gentiles from the list of saved indicates equally the prevailing bias.

No member of the foregoing party admits, so far as I have been able to discover, a liberation by Christ of the GENTILES below.

2. *Liberalists or Heterodox.*

Among the Catholics who did not feel bound to recoil on every point as far as possible from Gnosticism, the Alexandrine school stood prominent. The writings of Clement of Alexandria, of Origen, and some fragments, constitute all¹⁷ its extant literature out of the second and third centuries. Its adherents appear to have maintained in the present controversy the same generous tone of

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Athenagoras has sometimes been classed with this school; but the evidence therefor is insufficient, and his distinguishing views are diametrically opposed to those of its undoubted leaders and disciples.

theology which was their wont. **Clement** led the way in defending the cause of departed Gentiles, and — judging from his tone and manner — found it hard work to stem the current of narrow feeling among his nominally Catholic brethren. He endeavors to support himself by an appeal to *Hermas*.

“The Shepherd,” he says, “by speaking ¹⁸ simply (or without limitation) of ‘THOSE WHO HAD FALLEN ASLEEP,’ recognizes some as Just Men both among the GENTILES and Jews, [and thus recognizes] not only such as preceded the Lord’s coming, but those PRIOR TO THE LAW, who were well pleasing to God, as Abel, Noah, or any other Just Man. . . . ‘*For when the Gentiles, not having the Law, do by nature what the Law requires, though they have not the Law, they are a Law to themselves*’ (Rom. 2, 14), according to the Apostle.” ¹⁹

The admitted acceptability to God of men who lived prior to Moses or Abraham was, as already stated, a favorite argument with the Early Christians in proving against the Jews the equal privileges of the Gentiles. Clement seems to have thought, and justly, that if it were logical and a good Catholic doctrine above ground, it could not be illogical and heretical below.

Elsewhere he argues as follows: “To those who were just according to the Law, faith was wanting. . . . To the just according to Philosophy, not only faith in the Lord, but abstinence from Idolatry ²⁰ was needful. Where-

¹⁸ The passage alluded to will be found in the thirteenth section.

¹⁹ Strom. 2, 43, Clem. Alex. Opp. p. 452.

²⁰ The Early Christians, in their fierce contest with the Heathen worship around them, came to regard idolatry as the sin of all sins, not merely in a Christian, who must violate his conscience by idol-worship, but in the Heathens, who deemed it their duty. The man who persevered until death in idolatry was, according to their teaching, lost. It would appear from Clement’s remark, that his opponents made no distinction in this respect between those who died before and such as died after Christ, obvious as, according to their system, the distinction must have been. I have not, however, found a statement of this reason for excluding the Gentiles from the benefits of Christ’s subterranean mission, in

fore the Lord preached to those in the Underworld; for according to the Scripture, ‘*The Underworld says to Destruction, We have not, indeed, seen his form, but we have heard his voice.*’ (Job 28, 22?) It was not the place which, after listening to his voice, spoke the foregoing, but those [without distinction of race] who were in the Underworld. . . . These are they who attended to the Divine voice and [manifestation of] power. For what reasonable man would brand Providence with injustice, by deeming the souls of Just Men [from among the Gentiles] and sinners [of all nations] under one condemnation? What! Do not the Scriptures manifest that the Lord preached the Gospel to those who perished in the deluge, — or rather²¹ to such as had been bound, and to those in prison and custody? It has been shown [by me] in the second book of *Stromata*, that the Apostles,²² in imitation of the Lord, preached the Gospel to those in the Underworld. For there also, as here, I think that it behooved

any writer of the second or third century. In the fourth century Augustine quotes **Faustus** the Manichæan as saying: “Yet this alone appears to me objectionable in this opinion of yours, that you should believe it only of the Jewish Fathers, and not of the others also, — the Patriarchs of the Gentiles, — that they too had experienced at some time this favor of our Liberator, especially since the Christian assembly is composed to a greater extent of their children than from the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. But you say, indeed, ‘The Gentiles worshipped idols, the Jews worshipped the Omnipotent God, therefore Jesus cared for them only.’” — **Augustine**, *Cont. Faustum*, 33, 1.

²¹ A self-correction. **Clement** intended to appeal, not to Peter, but to Isaiah 49, 8, 9: “*I assisted thee . . . that thou mightest say to the bound, ‘Go forth,’ and to those in darkness, ‘Be manifest.’*” He had previously explained ‘the bound’ as meaning the Jews, and ‘those in darkness,’ the Gentiles. See *Strom.* 6, 6, *Opp.* p. 762. Perhaps, moreover, Clement thought the passage of Peter (1 Pet. 3, 19, 20) too strong for his purpose, since according to it Christ preached to the WICKED, whereas Clement found his hands full in maintaining that the Saviour preached to RIGHTEOUS Gentiles.

²² The passage referred to is a simple quotation from *Hermas*, and is included in the extract from that writer which will be given in the thirteenth section.

the best²³ of the disciples to be imitators of their Teacher, that the one should lead to conversion the Hebrews, and the others the Gentiles; that is, such of both as had lived according to the justice of the Law or of Philosophy, not perfectly, indeed, but imperfectly.”²⁴

“If, then, the sole cause of the Lord’s descent to the Underworld was to preach the Gospel,—as descend he certainly did,—it was either that he might preach it to all, or to the Hebrews alone. But if to all, then ALL WHO BELIEVED will be saved, even if they should be from among the Gentiles, seeing that they have already heartily confessed him there. . . . But if he preached the Gospel to the Jews only, to whom the knowledge and faith which come by the Saviour were wanting, it is manifest that, as God is no respecter of external distinctions, the Apostles there also, as here, must have preached it to such of the Gentiles as were fitted for conversion. So that it is well said by the Shepherd, . . . ‘THOSE WHO HAD ALREADY FALLEN ASLEEP descended [into the baptismal water] dead, but ascended alive.’

“Moreover the Gospel says (Matt. 27, 52), ‘MANY *bodies of those who had fallen asleep arose,*’ obviously meaning that they had been transferred to a better place. There took place, therefore, some GENERAL movement and translation [i. e. both of Jews and Gentiles] under the Saviour’s dispensation. One Just Man, therefore, is not differently treated from another; and this is proper, whether he be under the Law or a Greek: for God is not the Lord of the Jews only, but of all men, and the Father of such as have known him more nearly. For if to live rightly is to live LAW-fully, and to live according to reason is to live according to the Law; and if those who lived rightly before the Law were regarded as faithful (or believers), and were pronounced Just,—it is manifest that those outside of the Law, who have lived rightly according to their conscience,²⁵ although they may have been in the Under-

²³ The Shepherd says forty.

²⁴ Strom. 6, 44, *Opp.* pp. 762, 763.

²⁵ Διὰ τὴν τῆς φωνῆς ἰδιότητα. Perhaps more literally, “according to

world and in custody, yet when they heard the voice of the Lord, — whether his own, or that which operated through the Apostles, — were immediately converted and believed.”²⁶

“Also, in the Preaching of Peter, the Lord says to his disciples after the resurrection, ‘I have chosen you twelve disciples, judging you to be worthy of me’; whom also the Lord, deeming them faithful, wished as his Apostles, sending them to preach throughout the inhabited world, . . . that those who heard and believed might be saved; but that the unbelieving, in that they had heard, might bear witness that they could not say in apology, ‘We have not heard.’

“What then? Did not the same administration hold good in the Underworld; that there, also, all the souls, having heard the preaching, might manifest repentance, or confess that their punishment was justly due to their unbelief? For it would be no ordinary injustice²⁷ that those who preceded the Lord’s coming, and neither had the Gospel nor were responsible for believing or disbelieving, should partake of salvation or punishment. It would be altogether iniquitous that they should be condemned without a trial, and that only such as have lived since the Lord’s coming should have enjoyed the Divine justice.”²⁸

Clement assumes above, that, whereas “*MANY bodies of those who had fallen asleep arose*” at the Saviour’s resurrection, the translation must have included the Gentiles. This scarcely accords with the position that the Apostles

the peculiarities of that voice [whereby God spoke to them as to the ancient Patriarchs].” See Appendix, Note A.

²⁶ Strom. 6, 46, *Opp.* pp. 763, 764.

²⁷ Why had they or the righteous Jews been sent to the Underworld? Clement deemed God’s punishments there (as in this life) to be intended for man’s improvement (a position, by the by, which, if consistently carried out, ought finally to have emptied the Underworld), — see his Works, p. 764, lines 3–6, and p. 766, lines 38, 39, — and would perhaps have given that as one answer. See also Appendix, Note B, on Mortality and its destiny.

²⁸ Strom. 6, 47, *Opp.* pp. 764, 765.

preached to these same Gentiles and baptized them below. The Apostles could not have preached in the Underworld to those who had already been removed out of it. Clement does not seem to have observed this inconsistency. He was led into it partly by the desire of pressing some support for his views out of the already established reputation of Hermas, and partly, it would seem, by the consciousness that, as Christ had not preached to the Gentiles on earth, analogy would favor such a mission in the Underworld on the part of the Apostles more readily than on that of the Master.

Touching the question whether it were Christ or the Apostles who preached to the departed Gentiles, Clement shifts his position, as if uncertain on what ground he might eventually best succeed in resting his defence; though the correctness of his main point — the call of the Gentiles — was already settled by his moral perception. His uncertainty is that of a man feeling his way in a new position, rather than of one who is defending a well-known opinion by long-established arguments.

Origen, the pupil of Clement, started, no doubt, in much of his theology, from the point to which his teacher had arrived. He regarded the benefits of Christ's death as not even limited to mankind, but extending to all rational creatures.²⁹ In a passage which refers especially to men, he tells us that "Christ gave his soul a ransom for many (Matt. 20, 28) who believed on him, and if a belief of all upon him were supposable, he would have given his soul a ransom for all;"³⁰ and adds, a little further on, that, in the Underworld, "ALL WHO WISHED to follow him from among Death's prisoners could do so."³¹ Elsewhere he says, "The Patriarchs, therefore, and Prophets and ALL awaited [below] the coming of my Lord Jesus Christ;"³² nor does he appear to have considered a defence of such language requisite.

²⁹ A statement of his views on this point may be found in the *Christian Examiner* (Boston), Vol. 11, pp. 42 – 46.

³⁰ Comment. in Matt., Tom. 16, *Opp.* 3, p. 726. A.

³¹ *Ibid.*, B.

³² Homil. 2, on 1 Kings (i. e. Samuel), *Opp.* 2, p. 498. A.

In Potter's edition of Clement, pp. 1006 to 1011, may be found a Latin commentary on some of the Catholic Epistles, entitled "**Adumbrations** of Clement." It is supposed³³ to be the remains of a translation which Cassiodorus made or caused to be made, with expurgations, from a Greek work called Hypotyposes; a work which he regarded as Clement's. I incline to the supposition, that these Adumbrations are from some Alexandrine contemporary of Clement or Origen.³⁴

The Adumbrations on Jude, after commenting on the fallen angels who were "*reserved in perpetual chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day,*" quotes the beginning of verse seventh, "*Even as Sodom and Gomorrah;*" "to whom," says the writer, "the Lord signifies that more indulgence was shown [than to the fallen angels], and that ON BEING INSTRUCTED THEY REPENTED."

The commentary is intelligible on the supposition alone that its writer referred to Christ's mission in the Underworld, and that he understood the Master's lamentation over the Jewish cities which had not listened to him (Matt. 11, 23; Luke 10, 12, 13) as implying a better appreciation of his teachings by Sodom and Gomorrah.

Arnobius was a Latin Christian, and, though not of the ultra Anti-Gnostic or Orthodox,³⁵ does not belong to the Alexandrine School. He must, however, have been an admirer of Clement of Alexandria, whose ideas he has frequently copied. In the seventh section of this essay an extract from his writings will be given, which was intended by him as an answer to a question asked, or a difficulty urged, by THE HEATHENS. If it had any force

³³ See note on page 1006 of Potter's Clement.

³⁴ In a work by John Kaye, Bishop of Lincoln, entitled, *Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria*, a note concerning the Hypotyposes will be found on pp. 5, 6. It extracts from Photius (an author of the ninth century) a statement touching objectionable doctrines which he found in these Hypotyposes. The fall of the angels, there mentioned, was a common doctrine of the early Fathers. The succession of worlds was a view of Origen.

³⁵ See his views in the Appendix, Note E.

in meeting THEIR difficulty, it must have been on the supposition that Arnobius did not exclude Gentiles from the benefits of Christ's mission to the departed.

Cyprian, the disciple of Tertullian, swerved from the Orthodox on the subject of man's fate at death. His phraseology as to the subjects of the Underworld mission, though not definite, is free from narrowness. In proof of the position that "No one can attain to God the Father except through his Son, Jesus Christ," he adduces, after proofs pertaining to the living, a misquotation or mistranslation of 1 Pet. 4, 6: "*For to this end the Gospel was preached to THE DEAD ALSO, that they might be raised up (or awaked, ut suscitentur).*"³⁶ An Orthodox writer would have found some quotation restricting this salvation to the Fathers, which would have strengthened his argument by bringing into prominence that even Abraham and the Prophets needed to participate in Christ's teaching. This is not of course conclusive as to Cyprian's opinions, but the absence of Orthodox phraseology from the language of one who had been educated in it, implies rather strongly that he did not share the opinions which prompted it. In his language concerning Paradise,³⁷ there is also nothing determinate as to who accompanied the Saviour thither at the time of his resurrection.

§ IV. ALEXANDRINE OR THEOSOPHIC Gnostics.

ALLUSION has already been made (under § II.) to the Alexandrine or Theosophic Gnostics,¹ a much more meta-

³⁶ Testimon. adv. Judæos, 2, 27, p. 48.

³⁷ See Appendix, Note E.

¹ They are sometimes called Alexandrine, because their most distinguished leaders, Valentinus and Basilides, were from Alexandria, and because their views were strongly tinged with Alexandrine forms of thought; sometimes Theosophic, because of their metaphysical speculations concerning the Deity. Compare touching them Judaism at Rome, Ch. 11, § 1. 1.

physical class of thinkers than the Marcionites. Scanty fragments of their writings alone remain, and the arguments of their opponents hardly enable us to see into systems of thought which, as set forth by their own advocates, were not probably very intelligible. The VAL-
 ENTINIANS — concerning whom our information is least defective — were the main subdivision of this class of Gnostics; and though their opinions of Christ's descent, as hereafter to be stated, were probably shared by others if not by all, of the Theosophic Gnostics, yet it is of the Valentinians only that anything can be affirmed.

The Valentinians agreed with Marcion in regarding the being from whom the Saviour came as distinct from the God of the Jews, who was the Creator of this world. Their views of the latter were more favorable than Marcion's, and their system of the universe more complicated. They shared a not uncommon conception of their times, that the earth was spanned by seven heavens.² These, with the earth beneath them, were the work of the Jewish Deity,³ who dwelt in the highest, or seventh.⁴ Far above him, in the altitudes of space, lay the Pleroma, the residence of the Supreme Deity and of the spiritual beings or Æons who had been developed from him.

In the Middle Space — between the Creator and the Pleroma — dwelt 'Wisdom' or Achamoth. Human beings were divided into three classes: the Earthly; the Rational or Psychical; and the Spiritual: or, as it might otherwise be phrased, into Beings of Earth, of Soul, and of Spirit. The Earthly were destined to perish. The Rational perished or attained to salvation, according to the lives which they led.⁵ The latter class of Rational, and also the Spiritual, prior to the Christian dispensation, passed at death, as it would seem, to a place of rest in the heavens of the Creator, perhaps to the seventh heaven,

² See Appendix, Note C.

³ Irenæus **1**, 5, 2 (**1**, 1).

⁴ Iren. **1**, 5, 4 (**1**, 1).

⁵ Iren. **1**, 6, 2 and 4; **1**, 7, 5.

perhaps to Paradise,⁶ which the Valentinians placed either in the fourth heaven, or else in the fourth space counting from the earth upwards, that is, in the space between the third and fourth heavens. The Saviour removed the Spiritual out of this into the Middle Space. The Psychological—if the *Doctrina Orientalis* represents the opinions of all—remained⁷ with the Creator until the consummation. They and the Creator were then to ascend to and dwell in the Middle Space,⁸ while Wisdom and her children—the Spiritual—were to be elevated into the Pleroma, and this world was to be burnt up.

Jesus was the supernaturally constituted Messiah of the Creator. To assist him in his important work, the Æon Saviour descended into him at his baptism out of the Pleroma, but rose again and left him when he was taken before Pilate. It is of this Æon Saviour, and not

⁶ The Valentinians held, with many Catholics, that man was created in the Heavenly Paradise. That they should have agreed with the Catholics in regarding it as the place to which the Creator purposed restoring him, would seem not improbable, and the rather, since there would thus have been a correspondence between the two places of rest. The fourth heaven was the middle one, so also was the fourth intercelestial space. Either, but more especially the latter, could be regarded as analogous to the (supercelestial) MIDDLE Space. The Valentinians were fond of such correspondences between the works of the Creator and those above him, believing that he had wrought under an influence from the Pleroma.

On the other hand, it will appear towards the latter part of this section, that Heracleon used the same term, Jerusalem, as symbolical of the Creator who dwelt in the SEVENTH heaven, and as symbolical also of the Place of Souls. The *Doctrina Orientalis*, c. 63, treats the “other faithful souls” who were not yet admitted to the Middle Space as remaining for the present with the Creator; a dubious expression, since it might mean in his realms; yet I incline to understand it as meaning in his immediate presence. And the Ascension of Isaiah, which, of all Catholic documents, has, on subordinate points, most resemblance with the Valentinian theology, places Adam and the saints in the SEVENTH heaven (ch. 9, 6–9), differing therein from all other Catholic writings. — See more on this subject under § XXII. 6.

⁷ *Doctrina Orient.* c. 63.

⁸ *Doctrina Orient.* cc. 63, 64.

of Jesus, that mention is made in the following extracts from the ‘*Doctrina Orientalis*’⁹ or ‘*Excerpta Theodoti*.’

“The Saviour as he descended was seen by the angels [of the Middle Space through which he passed¹⁰]; on which account they proclaimed the glad tidings of him” (Luke 2, 13, 14).

“But he was also seen by Abraham and the other Just¹¹ Men who were at rest in the right hand¹² [i. e. in the

⁹ The full title is *Abstracts from the Writings of Theodotus and from the so-called Eastern Teaching of the Times of Valentinus*. The document is printed in Potter's edition of Clement, pp. 966–989. It is a miscellaneous collection from the writings of Theosophic Gnostics, comes to us in its present shape from the hand of a Catholic Christian, and no longer affords the means of determining in all cases the authorships of the respective passages, or the schools to which they belong. Perhaps Theodotus, a Gnostic, may have prepared a collection with comments, from which this may be a selection with further comments by a Catholic. Both parts of the citation in the text are from a Gnostic, if not from the same hand, for the one affirms and the other assumes a visible descent of the Saviour.

According to the *Philosophumena*, a work of the third century erroneously ascribed to Origen, the Valentinians were divided concerning the body of Jesus into ‘Eastern Teaching’ and ‘Italian Teaching.’ The latter, to which Heracleon and Ptolemy belonged, regarded the body of Jesus as of the same material with man's rational soul. The former, of which were Axionicus and Ardesianes, regarded his body as spiritual. See p. 195, Miller's edition. In the document called Eastern Teaching, however, are views apparently at variance with these attributed to Axionicus and Ardesianes.

¹⁰ The explanation in brackets is from Irenæus, 3, 10. 4 (3, 11).

¹¹ Just Men may here mean the Spiritual. The Valentinians regarded Achamoth or Wisdom as having inserted a spiritual seed into many of the Old Testament worthies. The Creator was ignorant as to the cause of their excellence, but was prompted by it to make them his prophets, etc.

¹² Δεξιόν, Δεξιά, the neuter singular and plural of right hand, was used by the Valentinians to designate the heavenly places or persons of the Jewish Deity's creation, and ἀριστερόν, ἀριστερά, left hand, to designate the earthly. Irenæus, 1, 5, 1 and 2; 1, 6, 1; 2, 24, 6; *Doctrina Orientalis*, c. 47, Clement, *Opp.* p. 980; *Eclogæ ex Script. Prophet.* c. 3, Clement, *Opp.* p. 990; Theodoret, *Hæret. Fab.* 1, 7. The same term was used by the author of the Clementine Homilies, Book 2, c. 16.

heavens of the Jewish God], for Christ said (John 8, 56) ‘*he rejoiced when he saw my day,*’ that is, the day of my advent in the flesh.¹³ Whence the Lord on rising again (or at his resurrection, *ἀναστὰς*) preached the Gospel to the Just who were at rest, and removed and transferred them. And all will live in his shadow¹⁴ [i. e. in the Middle Space]. For the Saviour’s presence there is the shadow of his glory with his Father. And the shadow cast by light is not darkness, but an enlightenment.”¹⁵

There is still another passage of the New Testament, part of which, it would seem, was interpreted by the Valentinians — as the whole was by the Catholics — concerning Christ’s mission to the departed. It is partly quoted in the *Doctrina Orientalis*¹⁶ as being used by the Valentinians; and though their interpretation of it is not given there, it is pretty plainly implied in the opposing statements of *Irenæus*. The passage is in Ephesians 4, 8–10: —

“*When he ascended up on high, he led captive the captives and gave gifts unto men. Now this, — ‘He ascended,’ —*

¹³ Though the Valentinians believed Christ to be destitute of a physical body, they used the term flesh of the Logos, *τὴν τοῦ Λόγου σάρκα*. *Doctrina Orient.* c. 16, Clement, *Opp.* p. 972.

“The day of the Saviour’s advent in the flesh” is here introduced controversially. The Catholics, on the other hand, in order to avoid the force of the argument deducible from the statement that Abraham saw — not that he FORESAW — Christ’s day, resorted to their position that Christ had been the special Deity of the Old Testament, the being who communicated with Abraham and Moses. Thus he SAW Christ’s day. *Irenæus*, 4, 5, 2 and 3.

¹⁴ A Valentinian term, as it would seem, for the Middle Space. *Irenæus*, 1, 4, 1; compare 2, 4, 3; 2, 8, 1–3.

¹⁵ *Doctrina Orientalis*, c. 18, Clement, *Opp.* p. 973. Clement, it may be remarked, quotes Androcydes as saying that “the so-called Ephesian Letters . . . indicate that darkness is shadowless, since it cannot have a shadow. But light is shadowy (or shadow-throwing), since it illuminates the shadow.” — Clement, *Opp.* p. 672, lines 16–20.

¹⁶ C. 43, Clement, *Opp.* p. 979.

*what does it imply save that he also descended to the lowest*¹⁷ *regions [namely, to those] of the earth. He who descended is the same as he who ascended ABOVE ALL THE HEAVENS."*

Irenæus does not meddle with the expression, "ABOVE all the heavens," which a Valentinian could urge as indicating a super-celestial place whereto Christ had ascended. Neither does he meet the argument that a Valentinian could have based on the logical sequence, since a descent to the Underworld of the Catholics was no more logically implied in CHRIST'S ascent to heaven than in that of Enoch or Elijah, whereas, on the Valentinian hypothesis, Christ must have descended to this lower world — to the (as compared with his former residence) lower regions of this earth — before he could have ascended. Irenæus simply quotes passages from the Old and New Testament to prove that Christ did literally descend to SUBTERRANEAN regions, and then exclaims, "If therefore the Lord . . . remained to the third day in '*the lower parts of the earth,*' how shall not they be confounded who say that the Lower Regions (Inferos) are THIS WORLD OF OURS."¹⁸

The band of captives was by the Fathers usually understood to mean those whom Christ had released from imprisonment in the Underworld, and could equally by the Valentinians have been applied to those whom he carried to regions above.

Heracleon's views must be collected from his commentary on John's Gospel, or rather from the fragments of it preserved by Origen. A word or two of explanation, however, may be prerequisite to its comprehension by the common reader. An idea, not yet extinct, prevailed among the Early Christians, and especially among the Alexandrine Catholics and Gnostics, that the sacred records had more senses than one. Thus Origen, whilst receiving the simple history of the two blind men who were cured at Jericho, regarded the two as emblematic of Judah and Israel, both blind till they came to Christ;

¹⁷ Valentinian change, as it would seem, from 'lower.'

¹⁸ Cont. Hæres. 5, 31, 2. For the Manichæan interpretation of this passage, see Routh's Reliq. Sac. Vol. 5, p. 52.

and since some of the Evangelists mentioned but one blind man, this implied that Judah and Israel were become one people.¹⁹ Jerusalem, spiritually interpreted, meant, according to Origen, Paradise or Heaven; Jericho meant this earth;²⁰ Egypt, this world,²¹ and apparently also the Underworld.²²

According to Heracleon,²³ Capernaum, allegorically interpreted, meant "these material or extreme parts of the world." Jerusalem represented the 'Psychical place,' or Place of Souls,—under the Creator's dispensation as it would seem,—and located probably in the seventh heaven, since by the same term he elsewhere designates the Creator,²⁴ who dwelt in the seventh heaven. The

¹⁹ Comment in Matt. Tom. 16, 12, *Opp.* 3, p. 732. D.

²⁰ The man who descended from Jerusalem to Jericho meant Adam or man in general, who descended from heaven to this earth (compare Origen's views in the second division of § XXI.) and fell among thieves. Comment in Matt. Tom. 16, 9, *Opp.* 3, p. 728. C. D.

²¹ In Genes. Homil. 15, 5, *Opp.* 2, p. 101, col. 1. F.

²² Origen, after quoting Gen. 46, 3, 4, "*Fear not to descend into Egypt: . . . I will descend with you into Egypt, and will finally recall you thence.*" remarks: "He was not finally recalled from Egypt, since he died there. For it would be absurd for any one to treat Jacob as recalled by God because his body was brought back, according to which interpretation it would be untrue that '*God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.*' It is not suitable, therefore, that this should be understood of a dead body, but it should be found correct of the living, and flourishing. . . . The statement, '*I will finally recall you thence,*' means, I think, as I have above said, that at the end of the ages his only-begotten Son, for the salvation of the world, descended even to the Lower Regions, and thence recalled the first man." — *In Gen. Homil.* 15, 5, *Opp.* 2, p. 101. According to a portion of the context, omitted for brevity's sake, the passage may be spiritually understood either of Christ descending to this world, or of Adam ejected from Paradise.

²³ Origen's citations from Heracleon are collected at the close of Masquet's Irenæus, where the above passages will, with one exception, be found on pp. 365, 366.

²⁴ *Iren.* *Opp.* p. 368. Ptolemy, unless Irenæus misunderstood him, used this term Jerusalem to designate Wisdom, who dwelt in the Middle Space. Irenæus, 1, 5, 3.

outer court of the temple symbolized "the Assembly of the Psychical who were saved, outside of the Pleroma," i. e. in the Middle Space. The Holy of Holies, Origen understood him to regard as typifying the Pleroma.

Christ's descent to Capernaum, spiritually interpreted, meant, according to Heracleon, his descent to these extreme parts of the world. His ascent to Jerusalem meant the ascent to the Place of Souls. The whip of small cords wherewith the buyers and sellers were ejected from the outer court was emblematic of the powers of the Holy Spirit; and its wooden handle, of Christ's cross, whereby 'the Assembly' — i. e. the Catholics or merely psychical — were purified from everything wicked, and rendered no longer a den of thieves, but the house of God.

There may be obscurity as to some portions of Heracleon's allegory, but it is pretty evident that he regarded the ascending Saviour as first visiting the 'Place of Souls' under the Creator's dispensation.

If a word of conjecture be allowed me, the Valentinians had merely interpreted the ordinary Catholic ideas of Christ's Underworld mission in what they deemed an exalted manner. The Pleroma was the world of light, the Middle Space that of shadow, this Underworld where we dwell, the region of darkness.²⁵ They may have termed it Hades, for one etymology of Hades (*Ἅιδης*) implied a place without light, and the word Inferi, above quoted

²⁵ In the *Doctrina Orientalis*, c. 37, is a statement of Valentinian opinions, to be quoted in a note under § XXII. 6, which identifies the 'creation' or world 'of darkness' with the 'left-hand places,' that is, with this earthly world.

Plato seems to have anticipated the Valentinians in comparing this world to the lower regions. He is quoted by Clement of Alexandria as having said, "Good souls, leaving the super-celestial place, endure to come into this Tartarus." — *Clem. Alex. Strom.* **1**, 67, *Opp.* p. 355, lines 20 – 22. And the **Ascension of Isaiah** is equally decided as to the comparative darkness of this world. The pseudo-prophet, after describing the brilliancy of the sixth heaven, exclaims, "Wherefore be assured, O Hezekiah, Josheb, my son, and Micah, that great darkness is here, darkness indeed great." — *Ch.* **8**, 24.

from the Latin translation of Irenæus, is elsewhere the rendering in that writer of the word Hades.

By the Underworld they understood, according to the passage already quoted from Irenæus, "this world of ours," which, by comparing it with the same expression elsewhere, would seem to mean what was below the firmament and subject to the Cosmocrator²⁶ or World-ruler, that is, the Devil, who in Catholic theology was Lord of the Underworld;—a view to be developed in § XIV.

Yet it is probable that they sometimes extended their idea of this Underworld so as to include the whole material creation of the Jewish Deity; both his heavens and earth. In fact, as it was only by ascending to the Middle Space that the region of twilight, or shadow, was attained, the conclusion is inevitable that the realms below were of darkness, and in the *Doctrina Orientalis* (c. 80) the *Ὀγδοάς*, Middle Space,²⁷ is contrasted, as the region of life, with the world (this Underworld), the region of death.

§ V. MANICHÆANS.

THE Manichæans, so called from their leader, Manes, arose in the latter half of the third century. Perhaps the document entitled "Discussion of Archelaus with Manes," from which an extract will be found under § XIV., may belong to the close of the same century. So far, however, as concerns any of their opinions directly bearing upon Christ's mission, or aid, to the departed, we must have recourse to documents of the fourth century, and the reader must make allowance for any change which he supposes that their views may have undergone, subsequently to the period under discussion.

²⁶ Irenæus, **1**, 5, 4 (**1**, 1). Cp. *Doct. Orient.* 37, in preceding note.

²⁷ On this meaning of Ogdoad compare pp. 124, 125, and *Philosophum.* pp. 191, 192, (195 ?). **Tertullian** uses it for the Pleroma. "Achamoth [born in the Pleroma] was called Ogdoas by reason of [her] primal, parental [locality, the] Ogdoad."—*Adv. Valentin.* 20.

The Manichæans had mingled Persian theology with Christianity. They believed in two Principles or Beings, a good and an evil one, and in two abodes for men, a place of light or happiness, and one of darkness or misery. The departed who were rescued by Christ must, on their theory, be delivered, not from such an abode as the good might have temporarily occupied, but from hell, or Tartarus.¹ The following extract is from the words of Faustus as given in Augustine's work, "Against Faustus the Manichæan," the especial subject of consideration being the Saviour's words, "*Many shall come from the east and west, and recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of the heavens.*" (Matt. 8, 11.)

"Grant," says Faustus, "that they (Abraham and the Patriarchs) are now in the kingdom of the heavens,—that they are in that place in which they had no belief and for which they never hoped, as is evident from their books. Yet what is written concerning them is confirmed even by your confession, that, liberated after a long interval by Christ our Lord—namely, by his mystical² suffering—from the dark and penal custody of the Lower Regions, whither the deserts of their life coerced them, they attained to this place, if indeed they have attained to it. . . .

"But Luke, although he regarded this [narrative of the centurion] as a memorable event, and necessary to be inserted among the wonderful deeds of Christ in his Gospel, yet makes no mention there of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. . . . But you may see that, as I say, I shall not be over-contentious with you concerning this passage, since the defence which I before established—and which

¹ Augustine, who for a time was himself a Manichæan, seems to have agreed with his former associates on this point. "I have nowhere found," he says, "that the resting-place of JUST SOULS is called the Underworld (*Inferos*)," and he appears to have been embarrassed by this belief. See the foregoing, and a number of other citations from his writings, collected in Pearson, *Exposit. of the Creed*, Art. 5 (pp. 362, 364, 365, edit. New York, 1844).

² The Manichæans did not believe the REAL suffering of Christ.

you cannot deny — is sufficient, that before the advent of our Lord all the Patriarchs and Prophets of Israel lay in Tartarean darkness according to their deserts, whence, if ever liberated, they were brought back to the light by Christ.”³

The confession above referred to is elsewhere dealt with as follows. Faustus attributes to his opponents, the Catholics, — and without denial from Augustine, — the limitation to the Jews of Christ’s favor towards the departed, on the ground that the Gentiles worshipped idols, and the Jews the omnipotent God. “So,” says Faustus, “the worship of (your) omnipotent God [equally with idol worship] sends people to Tartarus, and they who worshipped the Father need the aid of the Son.”⁴

§ VI. UNDERWORLD MISSION THE OBJECT OF CHRIST’S DEATH.

THE early Christians desired to find some dignified and striking object for Christ’s death, which they might urge against the Jews and Gentiles, and wherewith they might dazzle their own minds. The mission among the departed was seized upon as this object. The thought does not seem to have suggested itself, that he could have performed such a mission without dying.

Irenæus tells us: “Others, however, [by] saying, ‘*The Holy Lord remembered his dead who were already fallen asleep in the earth, and descended to them, that he might raise (uti erigeret¹) for the purpose of saving them,*’ have assigned THE REASON WHY HE SUFFERED THESE THINGS.”² And again: the Saviour, “coming the second time [to his disciples who were asleep in the garden], aroused and

³ Augustine, *cont. Faust.* 33, 1, 2, 3, *Opp.* 6, p. 106. E. H. K.

⁴ *Ibid.* G.

¹ Possibly a translation of *ἵνα ἀναστῇ*.

² *Cont. Hæres.* 4, 33, 12.

raised them, signifying that HIS SUFFERING WAS THE [MEANS OF] AWAKENING HIS SLEEPING DISCIPLES, on whose account also he ‘*descended into the lower parts of the earth.*’”³ And again: “When the Lord was about TO SUFFER FOR THIS PURPOSE, THAT HE MIGHT ANNOUNCE THE GLAD TIDINGS TO ABRAHAM AND TO THOSE WHO WERE WITH HIM, OF THE OPENING OF THE INHERITANCE”; or perhaps the translation should be as follows: “And on this account the Lord, — when about TO SUFFER, THAT HE MIGHT ANNOUNCE THE GLAD TIDINGS TO ABRAHAM AND TO THOSE WHO WERE WITH HIM OF THE OPENING OF THE INHERITANCE, — when he had given thanks, said to his disciples,” etc.⁴

Some of the connection, which for brevity's sake is omitted, renders it additionally probable that the last citation is an imitation of the following passage in the Epistle ascribed to **Barnabas**: “Learn, therefore, how he endured to suffer this at the hands of men. . . . He — since it behooved him to appear in the flesh, that he might destroy [or empty, *vacuam faceret*] death, and manifest the resurrection from the dead — ENDURED THAT HE MIGHT RENDER TO THE FATHERS WHAT HAD BEEN PROMISED THEM.”⁵

Clement, treating liberation from the Underworld as the necessary consequence of accepting Christ's teachings, assumes, we have already seen, as a conceded point, that “THE SOLE CAUSE OF THE LORD'S DESCENT TO THE UNDERWORLD WAS TO PREACH THE GOSPEL.”⁶

Origen, treating a passage of the Psalms as if prophetically spoken in the person of the Saviour, exclaims: “There is nothing wonderful, therefore, in even the Saviour saying, ‘*I went to sleep and slept,*’ since he effected so

³ Cont. Hæres. 4, 22, 1 (4, 39).

⁴ Cont. Hæres. 5, 33, 1.

⁵ C. 5 (4, 10).

⁶ See § III. 2. The Saviour's death and descent to the Underworld were so identified by Early Christians as both belonging to the history of his humiliation, that Clement, in assigning the reason for the one, no doubt, considered himself as equally assigning the reason for the other.

much more for the salvation of souls during the time of his separation from the body.”⁷ And in his work against Celsus the Heathen, he quotes from Paul (Rom. 14, 9): “*“On this account Christ died and rose again, that he might be the Lord both of the dead and living”*”; and adds, “You see in this that JESUS DIED IN ORDER THAT HE MIGHT BE LORD OF THE DEAD, and rose again in order that he might be Lord, not of the dead only, but also of the living. And the Apostle, by the dead over whom Christ should be Lord, understood those who are thus mentioned in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (15, 52): ‘*The trumpet shall sound and the dead shall be raised incorruptible.*’”⁸

Elsewhere in answering persons who deemed Samuel too good for the Underworld, Origen says: “Was (Christ) no longer the Son of God when — he was in the regions under the earth, ‘*that every knee might bend at the name of Jesus Christ, of those in heaven, and on the earth, and OF THOSE UNDER THE EARTH.*’”⁹ And in the same Homily Origen, addressing his congregation, asks, “Why should you fear to say that EVERY place has need of Jesus Christ?”¹⁰

Even **Tertullian**, who — in his zeal to force upon Christians his theological peculiarity, that the Underworld was still their doom — does not shrink from the position that Christ's death and abode in the Underworld were the necessary consequences of his human nature,¹¹

⁷ Comment. in Ps. 3, 6 (3, 5), *Opp.* 2, p. 553. C. D.

⁸ Cont. Celsum, 2, 65, *Opp.* 1, p. 436. E.

⁹ In Lib. Regum Hom. 2, *Opp.* 2, p. 496. E. Comp. Philip. 2, 10.

¹⁰ In Lib. Regum Hom. 2, *Opp.* 2, p. 495. C. D.

¹¹ “By the public opinion of the whole human race, we pronounce death A DEBT DUE TO NATURE. This the voice of God has stipulated; this every born thing has accorded, . . . which (the God of Jacob) exacted even from his Messiah. . . . Enoch and Elijah were translated, . . . but they are reserved to die, that they may extinguish Antichrist with their blood.” — *De Anima*, c. 50, *Opp.* p. 349. B. D. The last idea seems to be founded on the eleventh chapter of the Apocalypse. Again: “Though Christ was divine (*deus*), yet, because he was also man, being

even Tertullian seems obliged in the same passage to soften or cover his position by saying, "He did not ascend the heights of heaven before he '*descended to the lower parts of the earth,*' THAT THERE HE MIGHT MAKE THE PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS PARTICIPATORS OF HIMSELF."¹²

Lactantius, after quoting Daniel 7, 13, remarks: "So as to show: . . . that [Christ], having assumed the human form and mortal condition, should teach justice and . . . should be adjudged even to death, that he might also conquer and unseal the Underworld."¹³

The author of the **Discussion between Archelaus and Manes** goes further than others. "My Lord Jesus Christ," he says, "saw fit to come in a HUMAN body [i. e. in one which gained him admission to the Underworld; see § XVII.] that he might '*vindicate,*'¹⁴ not himself, but Moses and those who in succession after him had been oppressed by the violence of Death." The passage, as more fully cited under § XIV., implies that he treated this, not alone as the object of the Saviour's death, but of his coming.

To the above should be added a passage of **Justin Martyr**, and another from **Cyprian**, which will be found in the sixteenth section, and which therefore are here omitted.

§ VII. CONTROVERSY WITH THE HEATHENS.

OF the Heathen works against Christianity during the first three centuries, a few fragments only remain; among which, the quotations from Celsus, preserved in Origen's reply to him, are the chief. One of these quotations evinces that the Christians, in their intercourse or debates

dead and buried according to the Scriptures, he also satisfied the law [of nature], by going through the form of human death in the Underworld."

— *De Anima*, c. 55, *Opp.* p. 353. B.

¹² Ibid. Compare *Scorpiace*, ch. 7, quoted on p. 53.

¹³ Div. Inst. 4, 12.

¹⁴ Compare the use of this apparently technical expression by Arnobius in § XXII. 3.

with the Pagans, had given a prominence to the doctrine of Christ's mission below, which was met by ridicule.

Celsus says: "You of course do not confess touching him [Christ], that, having failed to convince men here, he betook himself to the Underworld to convince those there."¹

To the foregoing, **Origen** replies with some warmth: "We will, however, say this, though (Celsus) may not like it, that while in the body he convinced not a few [only], but so many that, on account of the multitude of believers, a plot was laid against him, and [then] with a soul divested of its body he discoursed to souls divested of their bodies, converting to himself such as were willing, or those whom for reasons (λόγους) known to himself he recognized as disposed to improvement."²

At a later period than the above, **Arnobius** wrote against the Heathens. Of one passage in his work, Christ's mission to the departed affords the only natural explanation. The Heathens are represented as asking, "If Christ was sent by God that he might free unhappy souls from destruction, what have former generations deserved (i. e. if without Christ all perish, what destruction have they not laid up for themselves), who by the condition of mortality passed away before his advent?" **Arnobius** answers, "Can you know what has been done to the souls of former times? Whether to them also, by some method determined on, and foreseen, assistance has been given? Can you, I say, know that which could be known IF CHRIST WERE YOUR TEACHER, . . . whether they would have been permitted to die unless Christ at a fixed time had come to their assistance as a preserver? Lay aside these cares and dismiss questions which you do not understand. To them also royal mercy HAS BEEN imparted, and the divine benefits have equally flowed on all. THEY HAVE BEEN PRESERVED. THEY HAVE BEEN LIBERATED, and have laid aside the lot and condition of Mortality."³

¹ Cont. Celsum, 2, 43, Vol. 1, p. 419. C.

² Ibid. C. D.

³ Adv. Gentes, 2, 63. On the subject of Mortality, its lot and condition, see Appendix, Note B.

The Heathen, it appears, could learn touching Christ's aid to the departed by becoming Christians, — "if Christ were their teacher," — why not sooner? Arnobius was less prone than some of the early apologists to mingle a variety of doctrines with the main points at issue between Christians and Pagans, and herein he showed his judgment. Perhaps in the present case he was only adhering to his custom. Or perhaps Heathen ridicule had induced Christians to place the doctrine of Christ's Underworld mission — however satisfactory to themselves — in the category of those teachings which they developed only to the converted.

§ VIII. THE UNDERWORLD MISSION FORETOLD.

MANY passages of the Old Testament were supposed by the early Fathers to predict the Saviour's descent and mission in the Underworld, and exercised, no doubt, much influence in giving the latter doctrine its currency. A portion of them, therefore, are subjoined, chiefly from Origen, who is the only writer of the second or third century that has left us commentaries to any extent on Scripture.

Origen speaks of the Underworld or its ruler as "that (Death) concerning which it is written in a prophet who speaks as in the person of the Lord (**Hosea 13, 14**), '*I will take them out of the grasp of the Underworld, and will liberate them from Death.*'"¹

"Hear the Prophet's statement (**Hosea 6, 2**): '*The Lord will resuscitate us after two days, and on the third day we shall rise again, and shall live in his presence.*'"²

"**"MANY BODIES OF THE SLEEPING SAINTS AROSE WITH HIM, AND ENTERED INTO THE HOLY CITY"** [the heavenly Jerusalem], whereby the words of the Prophet are accomplished in which he says of Christ (**Ps. 68, 18**), '*As-*

¹ Comment. in Rom. Lib. 5, 1, Opp. 4, p. 551. A.

² Hom. in Exod. Lib. 5, 2, Opp. 2, p. 144. F.

ending on high he led captive the captives,' and in this manner by his resurrection he destroyed the kingdoms of Death out of which it is written that he liberated the captives."³

"(Ps. 6, 4, 5.) 'Turn, Lord. Free my soul. Save me for thy mercy's sake; since in Death no one can remember thee. In the Underworld who shall confess thee?' And (David) not only beseeches the Lord himself to free his soul from Death, but prophetically manifests that he had obtained his petition by saying (Ps. 6, 9), 'The Lord listened to the voice of my lamentation. The Lord listened to my supplication. The Lord accepted my prayer.' For by these words he shadowed forth his resuscitation from death, which took place after the resurrection of Christ."⁴

"(Ps. 71, 20.) 'How many sore afflictions didst thou dispense to me! Yet, turning, thou madest me alive and broughtest me up from the abysses of the earth.' These things are manifestly spoken concerning the resurrection from the dead."⁵

(Ps. 77, 16.) "'The Abysses were troubled.' The Abysses mean the Infernal Powers [the powers of the Abyss], which were troubled at the presence of Christ."⁶

"David also, prophesying concerning him, said (Ps. 86, 13), 'Thou hast drawn my soul out of the depths of the Underworld,' — *ex inferno inferiori*."⁷

(Ps. 22, 4, 5.) "'Our fathers hoped on thee; they hoped and thou didst liberate them, they cried to thee and were not disappointed.'"⁸ The connection of this citation will be found under the next head.

(Ps. 3, 5.) "'I went to sleep and slept. I awoke again because the Lord espoused my cause.' We indeed think that these words have nothing human [in their application, nor

³ In Rom. Lib. 5, 1, Opp. 4, p. 551. B. C. Compare Justin's interpretation of this passage in a note to § XIX.

⁴ In Psalms, Opp. 2, p. 517. B. C.

⁵ In Psalms, Opp. 2, p. 760, E.

⁶ In Psalms, Opp. 2, p. 770, B.

⁷ Irenæus, 5, 31, 1.

⁸ Justin, Dial. cc. 100, 101, p. 196. A. B.

anything] appropriate to the history of David when he fled from the face of Absalom, . . . and what wonder if such a sleep on the part of the Saviour were not wholly an idleness of the soul, but an idleness as regards the use of its organ, the body? . . . There is nothing wonderful, therefore, in even the Saviour saying, '*I went to sleep and slept,*' since he effected so much more for the salvation of souls during the time of his separation from the body, according to what is said in the Catholic Epistle of Peter. [Here Origen quotes 1 Pet. 3, 19.] After this sleep his Father, espousing his cause, awoke him (or raised him up)."⁹

"We must inquire also into those things which the Saviour says through the mouth of the Prophet David that he experienced (Ps. 88, 4, 5), '*I became as an unassisted man, free among the dead.*'"¹⁰

"'NO ONE TAKES MY LIFE, BUT I LAY IT DOWN OF MYSELF.' This neither Moses nor any one of the Patriarchs or Prophets, nor yet of the Apostles, said, . . . since the lives of all men are taken from them. This being considered, the passage in the eighty-seventh [eighty-eighth] Psalm will become clear, which is spoken as in the person of the Saviour, '*Free among the dead.*'"¹¹

"By him you pronounce Death conquered, who not only laid down his life of his own will, but resumed it by his power; who alone was '*free among the dead,*' and whom alone Death could not hold."¹²

Ps. 18, 5. "*The pangs of the Underworld encircled me, the snares of Death were upon me.*" Christ in his human nature says these things. . . . Yet he never became a son of the Underworld."¹³

⁹ Origen, *Opp.* 2, p. 551. D. E. and p. 553. B. C. D. Justin in his Dialogue with the Jew (c. 97, *Opp.* p. 193. B.), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 5, 106, *Opp.* p. 712, lines 25, 26), and Cyprian (*Testimon.* 2, 24, p. 47), quote the same passage as a prophecy of the Lord's resurrection.

¹⁰ Origen, *Opp.* 4, p. 35. C.

¹¹ Idem, *Opp.* 4, p. 298. C.

¹² Idem, *Opp.* 4, p. 566. C. Compare extract from Origen in § XVIII. 3.

¹³ Idem, *Opp.* 2, p. 605. C. E.

Ps. 49, 14. “*As sheep they were placed in the Underworld. Death was their Shepherd (or Ruler).’ . . . But manifestly the same person who says (Ps. 13, 10), ‘Thou wilt not leave my soul in the Underworld,’ says also this (Ps. 49, 15), ‘But God will ransom my soul [from the grasp of the Underworld, when he assumes my cause].’ ”*¹⁴

Is. 45, 1, 2. “*Thus saith the Lord God to his Christ (or anointed), Cyrus, . . . I will beat down the brazen gates and break the iron bars.*” **Ps. 107, 10, 14, 16.** “*Such as sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, bound in affliction and iron. . . . He brought them out of darkness and the shadow of death, . . . for he crushed the brazen gates and broke the iron bars.*” Tertullian, alluding to one or both of these passages, speaks of that period in Christ’s existence “which broke in the adamantine gates of Death, and the brazen bars of the Underworld;”¹⁵ a conception which is amplified in the account of Christ’s descent, that was appended by a later hand to the Acts of Pilate.¹⁶ Heathen phraseology¹⁷ concerning the gates of Tartarus, and perhaps of the Underworld, could readily suggest such an application of the passages, nor would Christian modes of interpretation have rendered it difficult to regard Cyrus as a type of Christ.

In the Ascension of Isaiah, the Pseudo Prophet says: “With respect to the descent of the Beloved into hell (the Underworld), behold, it is written in the section [of my public prophecies] in which the Lord says, ‘*Lo! my Son shall be endowed with wisdom.*’ ”¹⁸ The section in-

¹⁴ Idem, *Opp.* 2, p. 720. E.

¹⁵ Tertul. de Resurrect. Carnis. c. 44, p. 412. B. See also the similar interpretation of Origen, in Cant. Cant., Hom. 2, 12, *Opp.* 3, p. 22. C.

¹⁶ See Appendix, Note D.

¹⁷ Homer assigns “iron gates, and brazen sills,” or perhaps “brazen door-posts,” to Tartarus. — *Iliad*, 8, 15. Virgil represents the access to the same as through an “immense gate” with “columns of solid adamant, so that no strength of men, nor even the inhabitants of heaven, could destroy it.” — *Æneid*, 6, 551–553. Tertullian’s language, or perhaps the Latin translation of the Old Testament which he used, may have been accommodated to the phraseology which Virgil had rendered familiar.

¹⁸ Ascension of Isaiah, 4, 21.

tended may either be Is. 42, 1-7, to the use of which by the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas the reader will immediately be referred, or 11, 2, 11, which last-mentioned verse might be allegorically understood as meaning a restoration from the Underworld,¹⁹ or 52, 13-53, 12, a passage commonly interpreted of Christ's suffering and death, and therefore regarded as implying his descent to the Underworld.

Origen's interpretation of the **Twenty-second Psalm**, which will be found in the fifteenth section, is, to avoid repetition, omitted here, as also his interpretation of **Gen. 46**, 3, 4, already given in a note on p. 24. Besides these the reader may wish to examine a quotation by Barnabas in § XIX. Other passages might be adduced, but I believe that the above are the most striking. The reader will probably think that their appositeness to a supposed event was mistaken for a prediction of it. The tendency to such mistakes has not yet passed away.

There was, besides the above, a spurious passage of the Old Testament which claims attention here. Justin quotes it from Jeremiah, as will appear in the next section. Irenæus quotes it at one time from Isaiah, at another from Jeremiah, at another from 'a prophet,' and at another so as not even to imply necessarily that it belonged to the Old Testament. His quotations are as follows: "**Isaiah** says, '*The Holy Lord of Israel remembered his dead who had fallen asleep under the earth of burial, and descended to them to preach the salvation which is from him, and that he might save them.*'"²⁰ And again: "**As Jeremiah** says, '*The Holy Lord of Israel remembered again his dead who had already fallen asleep in the earth of burial, and descended to them that he might preach his salvation to them for the purpose of saving them.*'"²¹ Elsewhere the citation concludes, "*that he might DRAW THEM OUT (uti erueret eos) and save them.*"²² And again,

¹⁹ Compare it with Origen's interpretation of Jacob's recall from Egypt, on p. 24, in note 22.

²⁰ Cont. Hæres. 3, 20, 4 (3, 23).

²¹ Cont. Hæres. 4, 22, 1 (4, 39).

²² Cont. Hæres. 4, 33, 1 (4, 53).

*“that he might RAISE (uti erigeret) for the purpose of saving them.”*²³ And again: *“The Lord remembered his dead SAINTS who had already fallen asleep in the earth of burial, and descended to them TO DRAW THEM OUT (extrahere eos) and to save them.”*²⁴

The foregoing unquestionably did not belong to the Old Testament, though Justin charges its erasure on the Jews. It may have been an outright forgery; or perhaps it was an explanatory note on some passage of the Septuagint, which a Christian, over-confident of its correctness, had interpolated into the text, or which, without thought of interpolation, had been placed in the margin. In this latter case copyists may have been unable, as sometimes happened, to distinguish between its claims and those of such passages as had been placed in the margin because accidentally omitted in the text. Justin and Irenæus alone quote it. Probably its spuriousness was detected as soon as attention was directed to it.

§ IX. CONTROVERSY WITH THE JEWS.

It can be readily imagined, that the Christians would draw from the preceding storehouse of texts against any who would listen to Old Testament prophecies. Some evidence is extant of verbal controversies between the Early Christians and the Jews, though whether any of the latter committed their side of the question to writing we do not know. If they did, the last scrap of their works has perished. On the Christian side we have a work by Justin Martyr, being his own account of a dialogue, real or fictitious, between himself and a Jew; also a tract by Tertullian, intended, as he says, to supply deficiencies in a late verbal controversy between a Christian and a Jewish proselyte, which, though it lasted the whole day,

²³ Cont. Hæres. 4, 33, 12 (4, 65 or 66).

²⁴ Cont. Hæres. 5, 31, 1.

had been confused and rendered unsatisfactory by noisy interruptions from spectators of both parties; and a collection of 'Proof Texts' or 'Testimonies' by Cyprian, arranged without argument under distinct heads. Casual expressions on the controverted points may also be found in other works of the Fathers.

Justin tells Trypho the Jew, "From the words of Jeremiah they (the Jews) have in like manner erased the following: '*The Lord God remembered his dead from among Israel, who had fallen asleep under the earth of the sepulchre, and descended to them that he might announce to them his salvation.*'"¹

On the probable origin of the foregoing I have already remarked in the preceding section. It differs as here cited from any quotation of it by Irenæus, though whether the difference be attributable to Justin or to an error in transcribing his works may be a question. It was an object with Justin to show that even the Jews needed Christianity for their salvation, and as his *memoriter* citations of genuine passages are sometimes more apposite to his argument than the passages themselves if literally transcribed, the change in the present instance may be owing to the same cause.² He makes no comment on the

¹ Dial. c. 72, p. 170. B. C.

² The Greek of the passage is somewhat barbarous, which would, however, be no great objection to the supposition that Justin had used it. At present it reads, 'Εμνήσθη δὲ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτοῦ, τῶν κεκοιμημένων εἰς γῆν χώματος, καὶ κατέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀναγγελλσασθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ, and I doubt whether it will admit a different translation from that above given, and, which, it may be remarked, is adopted in the editions of Maran and Otto. Dr. Pott apparently understands it in the same way. See the *Novum Testamentum*, edit. Koppe, Vol. 9, Part 2, p. 290.

Critics suggest that the abbreviation ΘΕΟΣ ΑΠΙΟ might be mistaken for ΘΕΟΣ ΑΠΙΟ, and that it originally read, '*The holy Lord God of Israel,*' etc.; and I would suggest, that, by reading ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ (instead of ἀπὸ) Ἰσραὴλ, — '*The Lord God of Israel remembered his dead, etc.,*' — the Greek would, at a small change, be improved. Neither change would make it accord with Irenæus, nor would either alteration, probably, be a correct one.

passage, intending, as he says, to restrict himself to texts which his opponents admitted as genuine.

Proceeding with this intention, he expatiates with tedious diffuseness on the Twenty-second Psalm, of which he says, "I will show you that this whole Psalm was spoken of the 'Messiah,'" ³ and, according to his interpretation, it referred to his sufferings. The passage, "*not to my ignorance*," ⁴ (which is found in the Septuagint instead of "*am not silent*," in the common version) indicated the ignorance, not of Jesus, "but of those who, thinking that he was not the Messiah, supposed that they could kill him, and that he would remain like a common man in the Underworld." ⁵ Justin then finds in the third verse occasion for a digression on the names and human birth of Jesus, after which he says, "From her (Mary) was he born, . . . through whom God overthrows the Serpent and the angels who resemble him, . . . and EFFECTS DELIVERANCE FROM DEATH TO SUCH AS repent of evil deeds and BELIEVE ON HIM. And the next portion of the Psalm, in which it is said [verses 4, 5], '*Our Fathers hoped on Thee, they hoped and THOU DIDST LIBERATE THEM; they cried to thee and were not disappointed*,' . . . manifests that those fathers also CONFESSED HIM who had hoped on and were saved by God, . . . he himself indicating that he was to be saved by the same God, and not boasting that he could do anything by his own counsel or strength. For UPON EARTH HE DID THE SAME. . . . He answered, '*Why do you call me good? One is good; my Father in heaven.*'" ⁶

The argument is based on Justin's affirmation that through Christ God effects deliverance from death — that is, from the Underworld, whither the fathers had gone — to such as believe on him. The Psalm says that God did liberate the fathers. But since Christ is the medium of liberation only for such as BELIEVE ON HIM, it follows

³ Dial. c. 99, p. 194. C. D.

⁴ Verse 2, or, in the Septuagint, 21, 3.

⁵ Dial. c. 99, p. 195. A.

⁶ Dial. cc. 100, 101, p. 196. A. B.

that the fathers must have ‘confessed him.’ The terms for confession, *ὁμολογεῖν* as used here, and *ἐξομολογεῖν* as used by Clement of Alexandria,⁷ touching the confession by the Gentiles in the Underworld, are merely weaker and stronger forms of the same word. That Justin was thinking of events in the Underworld is evident from his remark, that ‘UPON EARTH’ Jesus showed the same humility. To discern the humility, we must understand the Psalm, as did Justin, to be spoken by the Saviour, and he is thus made to attribute to God a liberation of which he was himself the active agent. “THOU,” he says, “didst liberate them.” Justin had already put into his mouth other passages which indicated that he looked to God for his own deliverance.⁸ To be ‘saved’ seems here, as in the passage of Clement already alluded to, to mean deliverance from the Underworld. The fathers of course were not, in Justin’s opinion, liberated from physical death.

That Justin, according to a conception which will be presented in §§ XIV. – XVIII., may have included in the idea of deliverance from death, that of deliverance from Satan, Lord of the Underworld, is not improbable; for after interpreting the roaring lion (verse 13) to mean Herod, he says, “Or else by the lion that roared upon him he meant the Devil.”⁹ “And the request [verses 20, 21] that his soul should be saved from the sword, the mouth of the lion, and the grasp of the dog, was a petition that no one might lord it over his soul, even as we,

⁷ Strom. 6, c. p. 764, line 3, quoted in § III. 2.

⁸ “He rose the third day. This was thus expressed by David [Ps. 3, 4, 5]: ‘I cried to the Lord with my voice, and he hearkened to me from his holy mountain. I went to sleep and slept. I awoke because the Lord espoused my cause.’” — *Dial.* c. 97, p. 193. B. In another passage Justin gives some prominence to the fact that the Saviour looked to God for his own deliverance. “If,” says he, “the Son of God affirmed that he could be saved neither because of his being Son nor on account of his strength nor wisdom, but that, though sinless, . . . he could not be saved without God, how do you not think that you and others . . . deceive yourselves?” — *Dial.* c. 102, p. 192. D. E.

⁹ *Dial.* c. 103, p. 198. D.

at departure from life, beseech God, who is able to turn aside every wicked, ruthless angel, that he shall not seize our soul.”¹⁰

The alleged fact, that God through Jesus delivered men from death, Justin does not attempt to prove. Perhaps he regarded it as implied in his Messiahship, and consequently in any evidence which established his Messiahship. Neither does he attempt in this connection to prove that Christianity was a protection after death¹¹ from evil spirits, though he argues that Judaism was not.¹²

¹⁰ Dial. c. 105, p. 200. B.

¹¹ **Justin**, in other passages, more than once assumes that in this life Christ's name gave power over demons. “We,” says he, “call him Helper and Ransomer, at the power of whose name the demons tremble, and to-day, if exorcised in the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, Procurator of Judæa, they are rendered obedient; so that from this it is manifest to all, that his Father gave him so much power that the demons are subject to his name and to the ‘Economy’ of his suffering.” — *Dial.* c. 30, p. 128. A.

¹² According to views which some of the Jews, no doubt, shared with the Christians, a soul's evocation from the Underworld must be effected by the aid of a demon. **Justin**, proceeding on this supposition, continues his argument, if it can so be termed, from the point at which it is interrupted in the text. “And that souls continued to exist I showed you (in c. 5, p. 107. D). And from the soul of Samuel being called up by the ventriloquist at the request of Saul, it is manifest that all the souls of those who were thus [that is, without Christianity] Just and Prophets, fell under the dominion of such powers [i. e. evil spirits], . . . whence also God teaches us to strain every nerve that we may become righteous [*δικαίους*, my own emendation of an unmeaning *δι' αὐτοῦ*] THROUGH HIS SON, and to petition at the close of life that our souls may not fall under the control of any such spirit.” — *Dial.* c. 105, p. 200. B. C.

An idea analogous to this of Justin, that insufficient righteousness left the soul subject after death to an evil spirit, appears in the **Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs**, and, as I think, from a Jewish hand. “When a troubled soul departs, it is tormented by the evil spirit which it served [here] through its desires and wicked works.” — **10** (Asher), c. **Grabe**, *Spicileg.*, Vol. 1, p. 228. The author of the Clementine Homilies philosophizes on this subjection to an evil spirit at death. *Hom.* 9, c.

Irenæus speaks of the Jews as “not knowing nor wishing to understand that all the Prophets announced two comings of Christ; one, indeed, in which” — after some other alleged fulfilments of prophecy — “*he remembered again his dead who had already fallen asleep, and descended to them, that he might draw them out and might save them.*”¹³

Tertullian at one period in his life denied the liberation of the fathers,¹⁴ though without questioning the fact that Christ had preached to them. At the date of his tract against the Jews he would seem to have admitted it. Alluding evidently to the two passages from Hosea quoted at the beginning of the preceding section, and blending them together, he asks, “Why, after his resurrection from the dead, which occurred on the third day, did the heavens receive him? according to the prophecy of Isaiah, uttered as follows: ‘*Before light*¹⁵ *they shall rise, saying to me, Let us go and return to the Lord God, for he will take us out and will liberate us.*’ After two days, on the third day, which is his glorious resurrection, he betook himself from earth into the heavens.”¹⁶

Elsewhere,¹⁷ however, he quotes the passage, mingling with it the words ‘*cure,*’ ‘*heal,*’ and ‘*pity*’ from a preceding verse, but omitting the word ‘*liberate,*’ and changing “*he will take us out*” to “*he has taken us out,*” and explains it of the women, who came to the sepulchre expecting to be restored from their affliction by finding the Master risen.

Cyprian among his heads, or positions, to be proved

The Valentinians also held that “whoever is sealed with the name of (or through, *διὰ*) the Father, Son, and Spirit is exempt from seizure (*ἀνεπίληπτος*) by every other power.” — **Doct. Orient.** c. 80, p. 987.

¹³ Cont. Hæres. 4, 33, 1 (4, 56).

¹⁴ See the second part of § XII.

¹⁵ The Latin translation, whence Tertullian no doubt quotes, had rendered, literally, as it seems, an expression which meant to seek early, or hasten to.

¹⁶ Adv. Judæos, c. 13, *Opp.* p. 227. A.

¹⁷ Adv. Marcion. 4, 43, *Opp.* p. 574. A.

against the Jews, states the two following, and subjoins, with other passages, those affixed here to each of them.

XXIV. "THAT (CHRIST) SHOULD NOT BE CONQUERED BY DEATH NOR REMAIN IN THE UNDERWORLD." "In Psalm 29 [30, 3], '*O Lord, thou hast brought back my soul from the Underworld.*' Also in Psalm 15 [16, 10], '*Thou wilt not leave my soul in the Underworld, nor permit thy Holy One to see corruption.*' Also in Psalm 3 [3, 5], '*I slept and took sleep, and rose again because the Lord aided me.*'"

XXV. "THAT HE SHOULD RISE AGAIN FROM THE UNDERWORLD ON THE THIRD DAY. In Hosea [6, 2], '*He will vivify us after two days; on the third day we shall rise again.*'" ¹⁸

§ X. CHRIST NEEDED PRECURSORS BELOW.

ACCORDING to **Origen**, those who had predicted and prepared the way for Christ on earth went to the Underworld that they might perform the same office for him there; a solution of their descent thither which does not, however, appear to have been entertained by others. The following is extracted from his second Homily on the First Book of Kings, by which must be understood the Book of Samuel, then so designated:—

"Several things have been read. [Origen enumerates some.] Next to these was the celebrated account of the ventriloquist [i. e. witch of Endor] and Samuel. [1 Sam. 28, 8–19.] . . . What shall we say? These things have been written. Are they true or are they untrue? To say they are untrue leads to infidelity. It will fall on the heads of those who say it. But to affirm their truth occasions us inquiry and doubt. We know that some of our brethren deny the Scripture, and say, '*I do not trust a ventriloquist.*' The ventriloquist professes to have seen Samuel. She lies. Samuel was not brought up. . . .

¹⁸ Testimon. adv. Judæos, 2, 24, 25, *Opp.* p. 47.

Those who treat the account as false exclaim, ‘Samuel in the Underworld! Samuel brought up by a ventriloquist! The best of the Prophets! Consecrated to God from his birth! . . . Samuel in the Underworld!—Samuel in the Lower Regions! . . . He never received a heifer or an ox [as a bribe]. He judged and condemned The People and remained a poor man. He never desired to receive anything from such a people. Why should Samuel be seen in the Underworld? Who followed him thither?—Samuel in the Underworld! Why not Abraham and Isaac and Jacob there also? Samuel in the Underworld! Why not Moses, too, who is coupled with him in the statement [Jer. 15, 1], *Not even if Moses and Samuel should stand before me* [petitioning for Israel], *would I hearken to them?* Samuel in the Underworld! Why not Jeremiah also?’”¹

To the above Origen replies: “He who does not wish to deny that Samuel was indeed the person raised, will say that Isaiah and Jeremiah and all the Prophets were in the Underworld. . . . We say, . . . it is the narrating voice [i. e. the Holy Spirit and not the witch] which says, *‘The woman saw Samuel.’*”²

Then, after a page or more of other argument, he continues: “Let an answer be given to my questions. Who is greater, Samuel or Jesus Christ? Who is greater, the Prophets, or Jesus Christ? Who is greater, Abraham or Jesus Christ?” And after assuming superiority as conceded to the latter, he goes on: “Was not Christ in the Underworld? Did not HE go there? Is not that true which is said in the Psalms, and which by the Apostles in their Acts is interpreted concerning the Saviour’s having descended to the Underworld? It is written [therein] that the passage in the Fifteenth Psalm [16, 10] relates to him, *‘Thou wilt not relinquish my soul to the Underworld, nor permit thy Holy One to see corruption.’*”

“Then if it should be answered, ‘[Ah, but] what was the purpose of Christ’s descent into the Underworld?

¹ Origen, *Opp.* 2, pp. 490–492.

² *Ibid.*, p. 492.

Was it that he might conquer? Or was he to be conquered by Death [as Abraham and the Prophets were on your supposition?] I would reply,] He did indeed descend to those regions, not as the slave of the powers there (*τῶν ἐκεῖ*), but to wrestle with them as their master (*ὡς δεσπότης παλαίσων*), as we formerly stated when explaining the Twenty-first Psalm.³ . . . The Saviour went down that he might save. [But] did he go down there foretold by the Prophets or not? Here [on earth] certainly he was foretold by the Prophets. . . . Even Moses proclaims that he was to dwell among men. . . . But if Moses utters predictions concerning him here, would you not have him descend thither also that he might foretell Christ's advent? . . . Did not the other Prophets [do the same]? Did not Samuel? What absurdity is there in physicians descending to the sick? . . . They were many physicians; but my Lord and Saviour is the Arch-physician, for the inward longing which cannot be healed by others, he heals. . . . Do not fear. Do not be amazed. Jesus went to the Underworld, and the Prophets before him, and they foretold the coming of Christ. . . . Why should you fear to say that every place has need of Christ? Does not he who needs Christ need the Prophets of Christ? For a man cannot have need of Christ, and no need of those who should prepare the way for his coming. And John, — than whom, according to the testimony of our Saviour himself, a greater had not been among those born of woman, — . . . do not fear to say that HE descended to the Underworld, the herald of the Lord. . . . Since (*εἰ*) all [men] descended into the Underworld prior to Christ's time, the Prophets of Christ were his forerunners. Thus Samuel descended thither, not indeed simply [i. e. in his character of a man], but as a saint. For wherever the Holy One (*ὁ ἅγιος*) may be, there will be the saint (*ὁ ἅγιος*). . . . I say it boldly, therefore; the souls of those who slept needed the prophetic favor. . . . Before the coming of my Lord Jesus Christ, it was impossible for any one to pass by the tree of life; it was

³ See, under § XV. 2, Origen's exposition of this (the 22d) Psalm.

impossible to pass by the appointed guards of the way to it. Who could travel it? Who could cause any one to pass the flaming sword?⁴ Samuel could not pass the flaming sword, nor could Abraham. . . . The Patriarchs, therefore, and Prophets, and all, awaited the coming of my Lord Jesus Christ, that he should open the way. . . . There is, therefore, no difficulty in the passage, but all things are wonderfully written, and are comprehended by all to whom the Deity shall reveal them.”⁵

Enoch and Elijah were regarded by the early Christians as having been translated ALIVE into Paradise. With the exception of the foregoing passage, and the forgery entitled “The Ascension of Isaiah,” I know no document by a Catholic Christian which extends, or which mentions Catholic Christians that extended, such an exemption from the Underworld before Christ’s time to ANY THAT HAD DIED.

Neither have I found in the second or third century any who shared Origen’s view that a preparation was requisite in the Underworld, as on earth, for Christ’s coming, unless it lurk under the following singular misapplication of a passage by Cyprian. Among his proofs “THAT CHRIST SHOULD RISE AGAIN FROM THE UNDERWORLD ON THE THIRD DAY,” he cites Exodus 19, 10, 11. “*The Lord said to Moses, Descend and testify to The People, and consecrate them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their clothing and be ready against the day after to-morrow. For on the third day the Lord will descend upon Mount Sinai.*”⁶

⁴ According to the **Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs**, God, in the renovation of the Jewish nation, would raise up a new priest. “And in his priesthood, all sin will come to an end, . . . and he will open the gates of Paradise, and will still the sword that threatened Adam, and will give to the saints to eat of the tree of life.” — **3** (Levi), 18. **Grabe, Spicileg.**, Vol. **1**, p. 172. This passage I suppose to be from a Jewish hand.

⁵ Origen, *Opera*, **2**, pp. 494–498.

⁶ Testimon. adv. Judæos, **2**, 25.

§ XI. THE PREACHING.

1. *In the Apostolic Age.*

Two passages in the First Epistle of Peter have been regarded as evidence of an opinion having existed already in the Apostolic age, and in the mind of an Apostle, that the Saviour preached in the Underworld to its tenants. The passages are as follows:—

1 Peter 3, 18–20. “*Christ once suffered for sins, — the just on account of the unjust, that he might lead us to God, being put to death as regarded the [mere] body, but rendered alive by the divine power, through (or by the support of) which he went and preached to the spirits in prison,¹ who were disobedient formerly, when the long-suffering of God in the days of Noah waited until the ark was prepared.*”

Ibid. 4, 5–7. (The Heathen) “*who shall render account to him that IS READY to judge the living and the dead. For to this end the Gospel was preached to the dead also, that [though] they may be condemned by men as regards their life here (κατὰ ἀνθρώπων σαρκί), they may live by [the decision of] God as regards their spirits. The end of all things IS AT HAND,*” etc.

That Peter believed his Master to have been in the Underworld would seem an unavoidable inference from his argument in Acts.² This being the case, it is not un-

¹ The Peshito Syriac, the earliest version, probably, of the New Testament, translates, according to Dr. Murdock's rendering of the same, “*He preached to those souls which were detained in Hades.*”

² “*Men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in your midst as you yourselves know, — him . . . you put to death. Whom God raised up, having loosed the pangs of death, since it was not possible that he should be held by them. For David says with reference to him, . . . ‘On this account my heart rejoiced and my tongue exulted, . . . because thou wilt not leave my soul in the Underworld, nor permit thy Holy One to see corruption.’ . . . Men and brethren; let me speak boldly to you concerning the Patriarch David, that he died and was buried; and*

natural that the question should have arisen in his own mind, or been suggested by an inquirer, "What did the Master do there?" To such a query no answer apparently could have been devised more consonant than the above with the Master's life and spirit on earth. No weariness, trial, or disappointment had withheld him from his ministry here. Is it singular that the Apostle, who had witnessed this, should suppose that even in the Underworld he had not remitted his efforts to reclaim the erring? Unless, indeed, in the latter of the two passages, the term 'dead,' as twice used, have different significations, it would be difficult to interpret Peter's language otherwise than as meaning a ministry to the departed.

2. *In the Second and Third Centuries.*

In the second and third centuries, every branch and division of Christians, so far as their records enable us to judge, believed that Christ preached to the departed; and this belief dates back to our earliest reliable sources of information in the former of these two centuries.

§ XII. THE LIBERATION.

1. *In the Apostolic Age.*

THREE passages in Apostolic writings were supposed by the Fathers to teach a liberation from the Underworld effected at Christ's resurrection. One of these (1 Peter 4, 5-7) has been already quoted in the preceding section. By recurring to it the reader will see, that, if it includes

his sepulchre is among us to the present day. But being a Prophet, and knowing that God had sworn to him with an oath from the fruit of his loins to place [some one] on his throne [the words are here omitted which Griesbach rejects], he spoke by foreknowledge concerning the Messiah's resurrection, that he was not left in the Underworld, neither did his flesh see corruption." — Acts 2, 22-31.

under the term ‘*live*’ the idea of exemption from death or the Underworld, that exemption must be connected, not with Christ’s resurrection, but with that resurrection and judgment of “*living AND DEAD*” which “*IS READY*,” — with “*the end of all things*” which “*is at hand*.” The preaching must be regarded as a preparation for a resurrection yet to come, not for one which, when the Apostle wrote, was already past.

The next is the passage **Matthew 27, 52, 53**: “*And many bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep arose, and coming out of their sepulchres after his resurrection entered the holy city, and appeared to many.*”

According to **Origen**, it was into the ‘*Heavenly Jerusalem*’¹ that these saints entered, — into the “*truly holy city, that Jerusalem over which Jesus had not wept.*”²

The natural meaning of the passage, in fact the only one which it will bear in its connection, is, that at the death, not at the resurrection, of Jesus, these sleeping saints arose, or awoke (*ἡγέρθη*), and that after his resurrection the fact of their having come to life was visibly demonstrated to many who saw them in Jerusalem. The former of these ideas contradicted the belief of the Fathers, that these saints did not leave the Underworld until the Lord’s resurrection. The latter contradicted their opinion that he took them with him to Paradise. The passage, moreover, states that the **BODIES** of these saints arose. This agreed neither with the view of those Catholics who regarded the reassumption of the body by the saints as yet to take place at a future resurrection, nor with that of the opposite party, who, as well as the Heretics, rejected such a reassumption entirely.

Whether, therefore, the passage originated from **Matthew**, or be, as some have supposed, a later interpolation, it can in neither case have been intended to teach a liberation from the Underworld analogous to that believed by the Fathers. Compare *Indirect Testimony*, p. 88.

The third passage which was regarded as alluding to

¹ Comment. in Rom. Lib. **5**, 10, *Opp.* **4**, p. 568. A.

² Comment. in Matt. Tom. **12**, 43, *Opp.* **3**, p. 566. A.

this liberation is the following from Paul's **Epistle to the Ephesians, 4, 7-11**: "*To each of us has been given favor according to the measure of Christ's bounty. Wherefore [the Scripture] says (Ps. 68, 18), 'ASCENDING ON HIGH, HE LED CAPTIVE THE CAPTIVES, AND CONFERRED GIFTS ON MEN.'* — *Now this 'HE ASCENDED,' what does it imply, if not that he also descended into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same as he that ascended above all the heavens that he might fulfil all things. — And he gave some to be apostles, and others public teachers, and others evangelists, and others pastors and private teachers,"* etc.

The idea of Christian gifts to which Paul was giving utterance, recalled to his mind a passage from the Old Testament touching gifts. Part of the passage suggested a thought extraneous to his subject, which he expresses parenthetically. He understands it as probably implying that the Messiah should descend into the Underworld. Perhaps it may be one of the passages used by Paul according to Acts 17, 3, in proof "*that the Messiah was to suffer and rise again from the dead.*"³ But of a liberation effected at the same time for others Paul mentions nothing. If

³ "*They came to Thessalonica where was a synagogue of the Jews. And according to Paul's custom, he entered among them and argued with them for three Sabbaths from the Scriptures, opening and alleging that it was requisite for the Messiah to suffer and arise from the dead, and that this Jesus whom I announce to you is the Messiah.*" — **Acts 17, 1-3.** The connection gives us no light as to what passages Paul used. But elsewhere we find him using the argument already quoted from, and with an additional link or two in the chain of connection. "*We,*" says Paul, "*announce to you the glad tidings that the promise which was made to THE FATHERS, God has fulfilled TO US THEIR CHILDREN by raising up Jesus. . . . And as to his raising him from the dead, no more to return to corruption, he has thus spoken: 'I will give TO YOU the mercies surely promised TO DAVID.' On which account [the Scripture] elsewhere says, 'Thou wilt not give thy Holy One to see corruption.' David indeed . . . fell asleep and was placed with his fathers, and saw corruption. But he whom God raised up did not see corruption.*" — **Acts 13, 32-37.** An interpretation of the passage in Ephesians which does not treat it as referring to Christ will be found in the *Christian Examiner* (Boston), Vol. V. pp. 65-67. Neither interpretation is without difficulties.

there is any faith to be placed in the connection as a guide to interpretation, he was not thinking of such a thing. That part of the quotation which was regarded by the Fathers as referring to the rescued captives, he neither uses nor notices. He seems to have cited it because he could not make the desired quotation without it.

Of a liberation, therefore, that accompanied the Saviour's resurrection, no mention is left to us out of the Apostolic age. If the idea already existed, it is not alluded to.

2. *In the Second and Third Centuries.*

In the second and third centuries, the belief of the above-mentioned liberation appears to have been almost universal. **Hermas** may have substituted for it a liberation after baptism by the Apostles, or may have held it inconsistently with the latter opinion.⁴ **Tertullian** was the only one of whom it can be affirmed that at one time he denied it.⁵ According to his tract, *De Anima*, the sword,

⁴ See § XIII.

⁵ Under § XXII. 4, will be given two passages concerning the state of departed souls since Christ, one from Justin and the other from Irenæus, to the purport that "souls abide somewhere" or "go to an invisible place" until the resurrection. These have been erroneously understood as implying a belief by their writers, that no change had been effected in the state of such as departed before Christ. See Pearson on the Creed, note † on p. 363; and King, in his *History of the Apostles' Creed*, pp. 207, 208.

The opposition of Protestants to the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory and indulgences led them to lay stress on the position, that no change of state was possible after death. Protestant advocates of Church authority were of course indisposed to admit either that such a change had taken place in the condition of the Patriarchs, or that the early Church believed it to have taken place. **Pearson** (in his work on the Creed, pp. 370, 371) ventures the assertion, that "the most ancient of all the Fathers whose writings are extant, were so far from believing that the end of Christ's descent into hell [i. e. the Underworld] was to translate the saints of old into heaven, that they thought them not to be in heaven yet, NOR EVER TO BE REMOVED FROM THAT PLACE IN WHICH THEY WERE

gate-keeper of Paradise, "yields to none save those who have DEPARTED IN CHRIST, NOT IN ADAM, . . . not in gentle fevers and in bed, but AMIDST TORTURES."⁶ Christian martyrs alone were as yet in Paradise. To this peculiarity he was led, however, by pushing to their consequences arguments which the Liberalist Catholics did not use and which the Orthodox did not venture to carry out;⁷ and which, moreover, he himself at other times either cannot have used, or cannot have pushed to the same extent, since, beside the quotation in § IX. he tells us in another work, "You see in what manner also the Divine Wisdom put to death its own first-born and only-begotten Son, who, to be sure, was to gain the victory, and also to bring back others to life."⁸ And elsewhere he says: "He [Christ] led captive. . . . Death or *humanam servitutem* enslaved humanity."⁹ And again: "Adam restored to his Paradise by hearty confession [of Christ] is not silent."¹⁰ Even the '**Ascension of Isaiah**,'—which represents that prophet as having seen in the seventh heaven during his lifetime "all the saints from Adam, holy Abel and every other saint,"¹¹—states that "on the

BEFORE CHRIST'S DEATH, until the resurrection"; and, in proof of this broad assertion, refers to but three Fathers prior to the fourth century, namely, Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian. It escaped his attention, that on his own pages he had placed the statement of **Irenæus**, that "the Lord remembered his dead saints . . . and descended to draw them out (*extrahere eos*) and to save them." See his note * on p. 366. Marcion would indeed have lost his labor in proving that Abraham and the saints were left in the Underworld, if none of his cotemporaries believed that they had been taken out. If the reader wishes to investigate this point, let him examine the whole of § II. ; and under § III. the extracts from Ignatius, Clement, Origen, and from the opponents of Tertullian; under § VI., from Barnabas; under § VII., from Arnobius; under § VIII., from Irenæus; under § IX., from Justin; under § XIII., from Hermas; and under § III., and in the Appendix, Note E, from Cyprian; besides other passages which he will find scattered through this work.

⁶ De Anima, c. 55, p. 353. D.

⁷ See § XXII. 4, 5, and compare § XXI. 6.

⁸ Contra Gnosticos Scorpiace, c. 7, *Opp.* p. 623. D.

⁹ Adv. Marc. 5, 8, *Opp.* p. 690. D.

¹⁰ De Pœnitentia, c. 12, *Opp.* p. 148. D.

¹¹ Ch. 9, 7, 8.

third day (Christ) shall rise again, . . . and many also of the saints shall ascend with him.”¹²

The belief of the Liberation was so firmly rooted and general at the date of our earliest records in the second century, as to evince that it had grown up in that historical chasm which separates the Apostolic and Ecclesiastic ages, if indeed it may not have originated in the age of the Apostles themselves.

How did this belief arise? Probabilities alone can be suggested in answer. They are the following. Christianity was preached as a life-giving religion at a time when one prominent meaning of life was exemption from the Underworld.¹³ The belief of such an exemption was not only generally maintained in the second and third centuries as the prerogative of Christians, but the Liberation itself was in a variety of ways DIRECTLY connected with the acceptance of Christianity.¹⁴ When a belief had already arisen, therefore, in a mission of the Saviour below, the idea that those who accepted his teachings there must also be entitled to this exemption, was a not unnatural consequent. Loose methods of interpretation rendered it easy to infer, from passages of the Old and New Testaments already adduced, that such a Liberation had actually accompanied the Saviour's resurrection, and there was the greater inducement to this use of the Old Testament, as the Christians thereby found their storehouse of arguments against the Jews much better filled. Jewish Scripture contained nothing applicable to a 'Preaching' in the Underworld, but much which could be misinterpreted of a Liberation from it. Either would have implied, according to their method of reasoning, that the Messiah was to die.

¹² Ch. 9, 16, 17.

¹³ See Appendix, Note B.

¹⁴ See the views of Marcion in § II. ; the arguments of Clement of Alexandria and the citation from Peter by Cyprian in the second division of § III. ; the statements of Hermas in § XIII. ; and compare Note B in the Appendix. Clement plainly implies, what Marcion, Cyprian, and Hermas affirm, that liberation from the Underworld depended on the

§ XIII. THE BAPTISM.

THE Christian Fathers treated baptism as a prerequisite for the Kingdom of Heaven,¹ and marvellously magnified its virtues. Some of their hearers, however, seem to have thought that a common argument, which was universally regarded as sound when directed against Jewish rites, could not become unsound by being applied to Christian ones. "Here," says **Tertullian**, "those wretches raise questions. They say, 'Baptism therefore is unnecessary, since faith is sufficient; for Abraham pleased God without any water-sacrament by faith alone.'"² There was certainly a difficulty in maintaining baptism as a prerequisite for salvation, and at the same time admitting, not only that the Patriarchs had been acceptable to God without it, but that they had gone to heaven without it. The devout **Hermas**, author of the *Shepherd*, sought a solution of this among the difficulties which he considered. His efforts are interesting, as honest, though not always successful, attempts to meet questions which had troubled his own mind, and his manner forms an agreeable contrast to some of the harsher controversial spirit of the age.

Hermas undertook to have the Old Testament saints baptized below. But in the Gospel of John it is stated (4, 3), "*Jesus baptized not, but his disciples*"; a fact not overlooked in the second century. **Opponents of Tertullian** said, "The Lord came, and HE did not baptize";³ and **Hermas** seems to have felt it, for he commits the baptism to the Apostles and their companions. The passage to be quoted is from an allegorical description of

becoming Christ's disciples, to which, however, the last-mentioned writer deemed baptism an essential.

¹ "It is permitted no one to obtain salvation without baptism." — **Tertullian** *de Baptismo*, c. 12, *Opp.* p. 261. A.

² *De Baptismo*, c. 13, *Opp.* p. 262. A.

³ *De Baptismo*, c. 11, *Opp.* p. 260. C.

the erection of a tower which represents the Christian Church.

SIMILITUDE 9, c. 3, "Then those six (c. 12, messengers of the Saviour) commanded that stones should be brought from a certain deep place [the Underworld] and prepared for the erection of the tower (c. 13, This tower is the Church), and ten white stones squared and uncut were raised up." c. 4, "After those ten stones, twenty-five others were raised from the deep place. . . . After these, thirty-five others were raised; . . . after these, forty stones ascended." c. 15, "The ten stones which were placed in the foundation are the first age,⁴ and the following twenty-five the second age of Just Men. But those thirty are the Prophets and Ministers of the Lord [under the old dispensation]. But the forty are the Apostles and Teachers of the preaching of the Son of God." c. 16, "Why, I said, did these stones ascend from the deep place, and why were they placed in the tower, seeing that they already had just spirits? It is necessary, [the angel] answered, that they should ascend through water, in order to be at rest. For they could not otherwise enter the kingdom of God, than by laying aside the mortality⁵ of their former life. They, therefore, though departed, were impressed with the seal of the Son of God, and entered into the kingdom of God. For before a man receives the name of the Son of God, he is destined to Death; but when he receives that seal [baptism], he is liberated from Death and delivered over to Life. To them, therefore, that seal was preached, and they used it that they might enter the kingdom of God. . . . These Apostles and Teachers who preached [while on earth] the name of the Son of God, after they died in his faith and the power which he granted them, preached to those who had pre-

⁴ The first, or uncircumcised age, from Adam to Abraham; the second, or circumcised, from Abraham to Moses, a division based on the introduction of circumcision and the Mosaic Law. Compare Justin's Dialogue, cc. 23, 27, 43, 92.

⁵ See Appendix, Note B.

viously passed away, and themselves gave them the seal of their preaching. . . . Through these, therefore, they [the previously dead] were made alive and acquainted with the name of the Son of God; and on this account ascended with them, and were fitted into the structure of the tower, and were built in without cutting;⁶ for they died in justice and in great chastity, only they had not this seal."

To an attentive mind it will already have occurred that the foregoing is inconsistent with the idea that the Liberation took place at Christ's resurrection. Hermas may, like Clement of Alexandria, have failed to notice the inconsistency, or may have intended that the Saviour's preaching below — which, however, he does not mention — was followed by a mission of the Apostles, until which time the Liberation of these departed saints was deferred. The former supposition is perhaps the more probable. A pious disposition not unfrequently becomes inconsistent in endeavoring to maintain usages to which it is attached. When disconnected from boldness, — as was the case in Hermas, — such a disposition is not likely to deny, point-blank, favorite dogmas of its co-religionists. And in the present instance a conscious postponement of the Liberation would have required a denial of much theology that had gathered around it.

Irenæus may allude to, though he does not plainly mention, a baptism by the Saviour below. He says that through Christ "all who had been disciples since the beginning [of the human race], being purified and washed, come into the life of God";⁷ that to the departed Just Men, Prophets, and Patriarchs the Lord "remitted their sins IN LIKE MANNER AS to us,"⁸ — phraseology which to a Christian of his day would have suggested a baptism of the departed, though the difficulties in the way of such a doctrine may have prevented Irenæus from plainly affirming it.

⁶ Bad stones had their defects cut away.

⁷ Irenæus, 4, 22, 1 (4, 36).

⁸ Idem, 4, 27, 2 (4, 45).

Clement of Alexandria, notwithstanding his quotation from the above passage of **Hermas**, does not in his own words mention a baptism of the departed; nor, unless some passage has escaped my attention, is it alluded to by the **other Fathers** of the second or third century. The New Testament afforded no warrant for a baptism by the Saviour, and the Apostles could not baptize in the Underworld those whom their Master had already taken out of it.

§ XIV. SATAN, OR DEATH, LORD OF THE UNDERWORLD.

THE names¹ by which the Jews designated the Prince of evil spirits may not always have been synonymes for each other, but **Samael** and **Satan** seem to have been identical. In the Jewish theology as contained in the Talmud, **Samael** or **Satan** appears in a twofold capacity, as the Angel of Death² and as the ruler of the Gentile world, or of all creatures except the Jews.³ In the the-

¹ **Lightfoot**, in his *Horææ Hebraicæ*, on Luke **11**, 15, says that he finds three evil spirits who are called by the Jews 'Prince of the Demons.' 1. 'The Angel of Death.' 2. 'Asmodeus.' 3. 'Beelzebub.' In the Book of Enoch, Azazyel is the leader of the fallen angels. In the **Ascension of Isaiah** the term Berial (a different form probably of Beliar or Belial) designates (ch. **2**, 4) 'the Angel of Iniquity,' or (ch. **4**, 2) 'the Prince of this World,' and is perhaps used interchangeably for **Samael**.

² **Wetstein**, in his note on Hebrews **2**, 14, quotes the following: "Targum Jonathan, Gen. **3**, 6, 'And the woman saw **Samael**, the Angel of Death.' Bava Bathra, f. 16. 1, Rabbi Lakisch said, 'He is Satan; he is the Angel of Death.' Devarim R. ult., **Samael** was the cause (?) of death to the whole world."

In the Koran the Angel of Death is **Azrael** or **Azrail**, apparently distinct from **Satan**.

³ **Wetstein** quotes, in his note on John **12**, 31, the following: "Bemidmar R. 16, f. 220-223. 'When the Law was given, God summoned the Angel of Death, and said to him, The whole world is in your power

ology of the Fathers he holds two positions analogous to the foregoing, but so developed as to create some discordance between them. He is the God of this World (i. e. of the unbelieving World);⁴ the Prince of the Powers of the Air (i. e. of the Demon-deities who ruled the Gentiles), dwelling in the firmament.⁵ He is also the Lord of the

except this nation which I have chosen for myself. . . . The Angel of Death said in the presence of God, I am created to no purpose in the world. God answered, I created thee to watch over the nations of the world. . . . When the children of Israel stood at Mount Sion [Sinai?] and said, Exod. 24, 7 [*All that the Lord hath said will we do and be obedient*], God called the Angel of Death and said to him, Although I have appointed you World-Ruler over creatures —” Wetstein omits the rest of the quotation, the foregoing part of which would lead us to expect in conclusion a special exception as above in favor of the Jews. See also Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.*, on John 12, 31.

⁴ **Origen** says: “He is called the Prince of the World, not because he created it, but because there are many sinners in this world. Inasmuch, therefore, as he is the Prince of Sin, he is also called the Prince of the World; Prince, that is, of those who have not yet left the world and turned to the Father.” — *In Numeros Hom.* 12, 4, *Opp.* 2, p. 315. D. **Tertullian** tells Marcion: “Therefore, if (Paul) says that the Gentiles were without God, and their God is the Devil, not the Creator, it is apparent that that ‘*Lord of this Age*’ (2 Cor. 4, 4) is to be understood whom the Gentiles received as God; not the Creator, of whom they are ignorant.” — *Adv. Marcion*, 5, 11, *Opp.* p. 598. C. D.

⁵ “It will be easy,” says **Tertullian**, “to interpret the Lord of this Age as the Devil, who said, according to the Prophet (Is. 14, 14), ‘*I will be like the Most High; I will place my throne among the clouds!*’” — *Adv. Marcion*, 5, 11, *Opp.* p. 598. B. And again: “Who is he? [The Prince of the Powers of the Air, Eph. 2, 2,] without doubt, he who raises up children of unbelief in opposition to the Creator, having possessed himself of this air, as the Prophet [I follow the text of the Tauchnitz edit.] relates that he said, ‘*I will place my throne among the clouds, I will be like the Most High.*’ This is the Devil, whom elsewhere too — if indeed persons wish so to understand the Apostle — we recognize as the *God of this Age*.” — *Adv. Marcion*, 5, 17, *Opp.* p. 608. C.

The **Ascension of Isaiah** states: “We then ascended into the firmament, I and he (the angel), where I beheld Samael and his powers. Great slaughter was perpetrated by him, and diabolical deeds.” — Ch. 7, 9. And again: “He (Christ) descended into the firmament where

Underworld, and in this capacity is called 'Death.'⁶ This is the character in which we are here to consider him. Any examination into his character as Prince of Evil would lead us too far from our subject.

A passage in the **Writer to the Hebrews** has been regarded as the earliest allusion from a Christian pen to Satan as Ruler of the Dead. He is there spoken of as having '*the dominion of death.*' The Greek term for dominion, *κράτος*, has sometimes the force of 'regal authority,' but the connection of the passage does not foreclose difference of opinion as to its interpretation.

Some of the Fathers leave us in no doubt that at least one — and a very prominent — sense in which they understood Satan to have the dominion of death was this: they supposed him to have detained in his gloomy regions below, and to have ruled over, the departed members of the human family, until Christ descended for their liberation. By them mankind, except Christians, were generally — though not without doubt on the part of some — regarded as still becoming his prey at death.

But how had Satan attained this authority? There are different answers to this question by some of the Fathers, while others give us no answer, and do not even intimate that the question had occurred to them.

Irenæus says: The Law "burdened sinful man by showing him to be THE DEBTOR OF [or due to] Death,"⁷

the Prince of this World dwells; . . . he descended . . . to the angels of the air; . . . they were plundering and assaulting one another." — Ch. 10, 29–31.

⁶ **Origen** tells us: "Death in the Scriptures . . . signifies many things. For the separation of the body from the soul is named death; but this can neither be regarded as an evil nor a good. . . . And, again, that separation of the soul from God which sin occasions is called death. This is obviously an evil, and is also called the wages of sin. . . . And again, THE DEVIL himself, the author of this death, IS CALLED DEATH, and he it is who is called the last enemy of Christ that shall be destroyed. But the region of THE UNDERWORLD, WHERE [before Christ] SOULS WERE DETAINED BY DEATH [the Devil], it also IS CALLED DEATH." — *In Rom. Lib. 6*, c, Opp. 4, p. 576. B. C.

⁷ For the convenience of the reader I subjoin the connection of the

and thinks, as will appear in a citation under § XVI., that, in order to man's release, his enemy needed to be JUSTLY conquered; expressions which would seem to imply a belief that this enemy had a right to hold man. Yet the foregoing quotation is introduced by saying, that "when the Law came, which was given through Moses, and testified of Sin that he is a sinner, it took away his regal dignity, disclosing him to be a ROBBER and HOMICIDE, instead of a king." And a citation from the same writer, which will be found in § XVIII. 2, treats the Apostate Angel as having 'seized rapaciously what was not his.'

Irenæus may have made a not very well-defined distinction in his own mind between Satan as the personification of Sin, and the same being as the personification of Death, supposing him, in his former capacity, to be unjustifiable for misleading man, but in his latter to be fairly entitled to him after he was misled. It is more probable, however, that his ideas were simply confused and inconsistent.

The author of the **Clementine Homilies** says that "to the soul [which calumniates God] no rest (or place of rest) will be given in the Underworld, by him who is APPOINTED as ruler there."⁸ This writer was too singular to represent any one's views but his own; nor is it likely that the fair inferences from his position would have been accepted by himself.

passage: "Therefore they (the Gnostics) who say that he (Christ) was manifested in appearance, but not born in the flesh, nor truly made man, are as yet under the former condemnation, and advocate the cause of Sin; since, according to them, that Death has not been conquered, which '*reigned from Adam to Moses, even over such as had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression.*' But when the Law came, which was given through Moses, and testified of Sin that he is a sinner, it took away his regal dignity (*regnum*, a translation probably of βασιλείαν), disclosing him to be a robber and homicide, instead of a king. But it burdened sinful man, by showing him to be the debtor of (or due to) Death, *reum Mortis* [a translation probably of ὀφειλέτην θανάτου] *ostendens eum.*" — **Irenæus**, 3, 18, 7 (3, 20).

⁸ Hom. 11, 10, Cotelierius, *Pat. Apost.*, Vol. 1, p. 701.

According to **Origen**, it was simply the lot of human nature that it descended to the Underworld, and thereby became a prey to Satan. "If that Death," he tells us, "which detained souls in the Underworld, he said, as it is in some copies, to '*have reigned even over those who did NOT sin after the manner of Adam's transgression,*' we understand that some of the saints had fallen under that Death, if not by the law of sinning, yet certainly by that of dying; and that therefore Christ descended into the Underworld, not only that he himself should not be held by Death,⁹ but that he might draw out those who were kept there, as we have said, not so much by the crime of transgression as by the condition affixed to dying; . . . he destroyed the kingdoms of death, out of which it is written that he liberated the captives. But as to the enemy and tyrant whose kingdoms he ruined, hear in what manner the Apostle says that HE shall be destroyed. (1 Cor. 15, 26.) '*The last enemy,*' he says, '*shall be destroyed, [namely] Death.*' "¹⁰

The **Dispute of Archelaus with Manes** takes a different view from either of the above. Its author had perhaps felt the force of the Manichæan objection, that the worshippers of the Jewish Deity went to the regions of darkness. Two passages are discussed in the following extract, the statement of Paul (Rom. 5, 14), "*Death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over such as did not sin in the same manner as Adam,*" and the term (2 Cor. 3, 7), '*Ministration of Death,*' which he applies to the communication of the Law. Archelaus, who appears as the Catholic disputant, explains Paul's words as follows: "Since the memory of the wicked did not faithfully retain the natural law written on their hearts, . . . and by transgression of its commandments Death obtained a kingdom among men, . . . Death exulted and reigned with full power until Moses, even over those who had not sinned in the manner mentioned; over sinners as properly his and subject to him, . . . but over the right-

⁹ See the third division of § XVIII.

¹⁰ Comment. in Rom., Lib. 5, 1, Opp. 4, p. 551. B. C.

eous, because, instead of obeying, they resisted him. . . . When Moses came and gave the Law . . . he delivered to Death only those who should transgress it. Death was PROHIBITED from reigning over all. For by the direction of the Law to him, 'You shall not touch these who keep my precepts,'¹¹ he reigned over sinners alone. . . . But even after this, Death wished to rescind the contract prescribed [a euphemism apparently for 'the conditions imposed'] by Moses, and to reign anew over the just; and he rushed upon the Prophets, killing and stoning those who were sent by God, even to [the time of] Zacharias. But my Lord Jesus, who watched over the justice [just administration?] of the Law of Moses, being indignant at Death for his transgression of the agreement, . . . saw fit to come in a human body, that he might 'VINDICATE,'¹² not himself, but Moses and those who in succession after him had been oppressed by the violence of Death. . . . The Law is called '*The Ministration of Death*,' because it delivered sinful transgressors to Death. But it protected its observers from Death, and placed them in glory through the support and aid of our Lord Jesus Christ."¹³

Marcion believed the existence of Satan, whom, says **Tertullian**, "both we and Marcion recognize as an [evil] angel."¹⁴ He was brought into being by the Creator, for, according to Tertullian, Marcion regarded the Crea-

¹¹ This is perhaps an erroneous quotation of Ps. 105, 15, "*Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm*"; or the writer may have confounded with the Pentateuch some of the traditional comments upon it, such as are quoted from Wetstein in a note near the beginning of this section.

¹² Compare the note on this word as quoted from Arnobius in the third division of § XXII.

¹³ Archelai et Manetis Disputat., ch. 30. Routh, Reliq. Sac., Vol. 5, pp. 112-115.

¹⁴ Adv. Marcion, 5, 12, *Opp.* p. 600. B. Mr. Norton seems to have overlooked this passage. See his *Genuineness of the Gospels*, Vol. 3, p. 61 (2d edit. p. 64). Compare with it an extract from Tertullian in a note under § XXI. 2.

tor as 'the author of the Devil,'¹⁵ Whether he identified him with the personification of Death, does not appear.

The **Valentinians** believed in a Devil, "whom," says Irenæus, "they also call Cosmocrator,"¹⁶ that is, World-ruler. He dwelt in this world,¹⁷ possibly in the firmament which formed its upper limit. They personified Death,¹⁸ and no doubt identified him with the Cosmocrator, the ruler of this Underworld, as they regarded it,—this region of darkness, where, as will appear in the sixth division of § XXII., they regarded the earthly-minded after death as remaining until destroyed by the conflagration.

§ XV. FOREBODINGS OF CONFLICT.

1. *The Agony in the Garden.*

WOULD the Lord of the Underworld surrender his prisoners without a battle? This was hardly to be expected. In the Scripture interpretations of **Origen** we find the Saviour represented towards the close of his life as looking with anxiety to the conflict that should follow. On the words of Matthew (26, 37), "*Taking Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, he began to be sorrowful and heavy,*" Origen remarks, "For perhaps he saw, standing by, the '*kings of the earth and princes* [that is, as elsewhere explained,¹ the demon-powers], *congregated together against the Lord, and against his Christ.*' . . . Therefore he began to be sad as concerned his human nature, which was subject to such

¹⁵ Adv. Marc. 2, 10, *Opp.* p. 461. B.

¹⁶ Cont. Hæres. 1, 5, 4 (1, 1). The term is borrowed from Paul's expression, "*World-rulers of this darkness,*" Eph. 6, 12.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Doctrina Orient., c. 61, Clem. Alex. *Opp.* p. 984.

¹ Comment. in Joan., Tom. 32, 15, *Opp.* 4, p. 443. A.; and in Genes. Hom. 9, 3, *Opp.* 2, p. 86. A.

sufferings, but not as to his divine nature, which was far removed from suffering of this kind. . . . Seeing therefore that contest impending which he was not to maintain against flesh and blood, but against so many kings of the earth, who were standing by, and princes congregated against himself, as never previously [had collected], he **BEGAN** to fear or to be sad, suffering no further sadness or fear, however, than the beginning of it. But he did **BEGIN** to fear and be sad, at which time he said (Matt. 26, 38), *‘My soul is sad even to death.’*²

2. *The Twenty-second Psalm.*

The contents of this Psalm would render it probable that it may have been used among the Jews as an expression both of suffering and of confidence in God. Those who appreciate the power of a familiar devotional strain to support the soul under suffering, will hardly need further explanation of the fact that its first line was uttered by the Saviour on the cross. The Fathers put into the Saviour’s mouth the whole Psalm, and did not always select as the subject of their comments those portions which would sound most gratefully to the ear of modern devotion. The *‘Roaring Lion,’* by allusion to 1 Peter 5, 8, was commonly interpreted to mean Satan or Death. Origen understands the *‘Gaping Bulls,’* which surrounded the speaker to mean Demons, and adds, “It is probable that (Jesus) saw around him the [infernal] powers, which wished to seize upon his soul and force it down to the regions of gloom.” On the eleventh verse, *“Be not far from me, for trouble is near, for there is no one to help,”* he remarks: “Perhaps the words *‘trouble is near’* were uttered while yet on the cross with reference to his exigence in the Underworld from its rulers. He speaks this as if destitute of assistance from the angels; for not one of them dared to descend thither with him.”³

Tertullian tells the Jews, “If you still desire teachings [of the Old Testament] concerning the Lord’s cross, the

² Origen Ser. Com. in Matt., No. 90, *Opp.* 3, p. 902.

³ Comment. in Ps. 21 (22), *Opp.* 2, p. 621.

twenty-first [twenty-second] Psalm can give you enough of it, containing, as it does, the whole history of Christ's suffering, who was thenceforward to sing his own glory. . . . When he implored the aid of his Father, '*Save me,*' he says, '*from the mouth of the Lion,*' — that is, of Death."⁴

Justin's interpretation of the same passage will be found in § IX.

§ XVI. THE VICTORY. — THE UNDERWORLD RIVEN.

OUR Saviour, in answer to the Jews who charged him with casting out demons by the aid of Beelzebub, called attention to their inconsistency by the remark that Beelzebub could not be expected to lay waste his own possessions, and that a stronger alone than Beelzebub could do it.

Though the reply of Jesus was less frequently misinterpreted than its appositeness to our subject might have induced us to anticipate, yet it was misinterpreted, and it will, with its exposition by Origen, form no inappropriate introduction to the present section. "*How,*" says the Saviour, "*can any one enter the strong one's house and plunder his goods, except he first bind the strong one, and then he will plunder his house?*"¹ Or, according to the wording of Luke's Gospel, "*When a strong one in armor guards his threshold, his property is undisturbed. But when a stronger than he, coming upon him, shall conquer him, he takes away his armor in which he trusted, and divides his spoils.*"²

Origen, alluding to and quoting the above, says: "Christ voluntarily '*emptied himself and took the form of a servant,*' and suffered the rule of the tyrant, '*being made obedient unto Death,*'³ by which death he destroyed '*him*

⁴ Adv. Judæos, c. 10, Opp. p. 222. A.

¹ Matt. 12, 29.

² Luke 11, 21, 22.

³ Philip. 2, 7, 8. Paul's words are "obedient even to [the suffering of] death."

*who had the dominion of death, that is, the Devil;*⁴ that he might liberate those who were held by Death. For having bound the strong one, he went into his house, into the house of Death, into the Underworld, and thence plundered his goods, that is, carried off the souls which he held, . . . and thence *‘ascending on high, led captive the captives.’*⁵

It is one instance of the inconsistencies of the Fathers, that in the foregoing Christ is represented as first binding his enemy, and then entering his house, whereas other passages commonly mention a fearful struggle as occurring in the Underworld.

The earliest Christian passage in which the germ of the above opinion might be sought is from the **Writer to the Hebrews**, who says that Christ partook of flesh and blood, *“that through death he might destroy him who has the dominion of death, that is, the Devil.”*⁶ But the further object there stated is not the delivery of the dead from his power, but of the living from the fear of death, —that he *“might deliver as many as through fear of death were, during their whole lives, subject to slavery.”*⁷ The passage, moreover, does not explain the connection between Christ’s death and the Devil’s destruction.

Justin Martyr speaks of Christ as having, “for the salvation of such as believed on him, endured humiliation and suffering, that by dying and rising again he might conquer Death,”⁸ but does not explain the nature of the victory. The reader may examine a further extract from him in the next section, to see whether it throws light on the subject.

Irenæus is the earliest writer who DILATES on the Saviour’s victory. Before quoting him, it will be necessary, however, to explain one of his peculiarities. In reply to the Gnostics who maintained that there was no con-

⁴ Heb. 2, 14.

⁵ Ps. 68, 18. Origen, *Comment. in Rom.*, Lib. 6, 10, *Opp.* 4, pp. 567. D., 568. A.

⁶ Ch. 2, 14.

⁷ Ch. 2, 15.

⁸ Apol. 1, c. 63, p. 82. A.

nection, or but an indirect one, between the Old and New Dispensations, Irenæus endeavored to show that the events of the Old Dispensation were antithetically repeated in the New,⁹ leaving it to be inferred that this repetition implied a direct connection between the two. Keeping his mind intently fixed on the discovery of these antitheses, and forgetting consistency or coherence in his search for them, he blends Christ's moral victory, won by resisting Satan's temptations, and, if I may so term it, his physical victory in the Underworld, in such inextricable confusion, that it is difficult to decide, in many instances, which of the two was most present to his mind. In order to save perplexity to the reader, I will select, at the risk of error, what seems most pertinent, in the following passages, to the Underworld victory, and defer to their close a connected specimen of the confusion whence they are extracted.

But further, as Satan was not only Lord of the Underworld and the dead, but Ruler of this world, the same victory which liberated the departed from his dominions broke his power over men in this life, so that Irenæus blends together, as do other Fathers, the liberation from the Underworld and the liberation from Satan in this life, under the general idea of MAN'S liberation from thralldom.

The reader will remember Origen's expression, that Christ descended to wrestle (*παλαίσων*) with the powers of the Underworld as their master. Irenæus says: "He wrestled (*luctatus est*) and conquered, for he was a man contending for the fathers, . . . he bound the strong one and set loose the weak."¹⁰ "For if a MAN had not conquered the enemy of mankind, that enemy would not

⁹ Thus Satan had got the better of Adam when the latter was not hungry by inducing him to eat, and had therefore to be conquered by Christ's refusal to eat when he was hungry; that is, by his refusal to turn stones into bread. (*Cont. Hæres.* 5, 21, 2.) [The human race] which the VIRGIN Eve bound by her INCREDULITY, the VIRGIN Mary freed by her TRUSTFULNESS. (*Cont. Hæres.* 3, 22, 4.) — By wood [of the tree of life] we were made debtors of God; by wood [of the cross] we receive remission of our debt. (*Cont. Hæres.* 5, 17, 3.)

¹⁰ *Cont. Hæres.* 3, 18, 6 (3, 20).

have been justly conquered.”¹¹ And again: “For if [that] man who had been formed by God that he might live, after having lost his life here, through the injury sustained from the serpent which had corrupted him, had no more returned to life, . . . God would have been conquered; . . . but since God is unconquered, . . . he by the second man bound the strong one, and spoiled his goods, and abolished death, vivifying that man (Adam) who had been rendered dead. . . . So that he who had led man captive was justly in his turn taken captive by God, but man who had been led captive was freed from the chains of condemnation.”¹²

“But since man is saved, it is proper that the first formed man should be saved. Since it is too unreasonable to say that he who was violently injured by the enemy, and first suffered captivity, should not be rescued by that enemy’s conqueror, but that the children should be rescued, whom he generated in the same captivity. Nor indeed will the enemy appear conquered while the former spoils yet remain with him.”¹³

“Adam had been conquered, all life (immortality?¹⁴) being taken from him; therefore, the enemy being in turn conquered, Adam received life; . . . his salvation is the abolition of death. Therefore, when the Lord vivified man, that is, when he vivified Adam, Death was abolished.”¹⁵

“As by a conquered human being our race descended into death, thus by a human victor we ascend into life. And as through a man Death bore away the palm from us, thus we in our turn through a man bear away the palm from Death.”¹⁶

“The Word steadfastly bound him (the apostate angel) as his fugitive, and plundered his goods, that is, the men

¹¹ Cont. Hæres. 3, 18, 7 (3, 20).

¹² Cont. Hæres. 3, 23, 1 (3, 33).

¹³ Cont. Hæres. 3, 23, 2 (3, 34).

¹⁴ On the meaning of life and death, see Appendix, Note B.

¹⁵ Cont. Hæres. 3, 23, 7 (3, 38).

¹⁶ Cont. Hæres. 5, 21, 1.

who were detained by him, and whom he used unjustly. And with justice was he led captive who had led man captive unjustly, but man . . . was drawn out from the power of his possessor.”¹⁷

It is due to the reader to state, that I am more uncertain as to the actual meaning of the foregoing extracts, than as to that of any others which I either have adduced or shall hereafter adduce as proofs in the course of the present work. The diffuseness and repetition of Irenæus on the subject of Christ's victory do not render him plain. Oftentimes the connection seems to admit the idea only of a moral victory, which restored in some way Adam's immortality. Yet Irenæus believed that Christ went personally to the Underworld to bring up Adam; he appears to have shared, as will be seen in the next section, the idea of the Saviour having deceived Satan in order to gain admission to his dominions; and he believed that man — that Adam — “was drawn out from the power of his possessor”; which cannot have meant an extraction from the wiles of Satan that were misleading him to sin, since, according to Irenæus, man's capacity of sinning ceased with this life.¹⁸ It can hardly be that he did not share the belief of a victory in the

¹⁷ Cont. Hæres. 5, 21, 3.

¹⁸ “(God) ejected him (Adam) from Paradise, and removed him far from the wood of life, not envying him the wood of life, as some dare to say, but in compassion for him, that he might not remain forever a transgressor, and that the sin in which he was involved might not be everlasting, nor the evil interminable and incurable. He prevented further transgression by the interposition of death, and by making sin to cease through the termination that he imposes on it by the dissolution of the flesh which takes place on this earth; that man ceasing to live to sin, and dying to it, might begin to live to God.” — **Irenæus**, *Cont. Hæres.* 3, 23, 6 (3, 37).

An analogous view of death to this is also presented by **Theophilus**. “Through his disobedience man subjected himself to labor, suffering, grief, and finally fell under death; and God allowed this to man as a great benefit, that he might not remain forever in sin.” — *Adv. Autoly-cum*, 2, 25, 26, p. 367. C. D. I alter the Benedictine punctuation. Theophilus, however, did not hold to an original immortality in Adam.

Underworld by which some of the foregoing phraseology was prompted. That the reader may have the promised specimen of commingled figures out of which the above extracts have been made, I will add the following, premising that he will find it more antithetic than intelligible:—

“With these (transgression and apostasy) the apostate angel bound man. By man, therefore, it was proper that he, when conquered, should in his turn be bound with the same chains, . . . that man, being freed, should return to his God, leaving the chains, that is, transgression, to him through whom himself had been formerly fettered. For the imposition of fetters on him (*illius colligatio*) was made the means of man’s liberation, since ‘no one can enter the strong one’s house and plunder his goods unless he shall first have bound the strong one.’”¹⁹

Irenæus does not inform us whether Satan, prior to being bound, was, like Adam in his original state, pure and untrammelled by the fetters of sin. Nor, if the reverse were the case, does he explain how Satan should be more hindered now than formerly by such fetters from detaining his captives. The passage is a curious exemplification of the manner in which a man may, by the utterance of words, cheat himself into the supposition that he is expressing ideas.

Tertullian, on this subject challenges the Jews with his usual roughness. “Come on now: if you have read the words of the Prophet in the Psalms (Ps. 96, 10, 97, 1), ‘*The Lord has REIGNED from the Wood,*’—I await your understanding of it. Do you think perhaps it means some wooden king and not Christ, who from the time of

He believed him capable of attaining either mortality or immortality. See *Adv. Autolyceum*, 2, 27, p. 368. A. B., cited in Appendix, Note B.

The **Rule of Faith**, ascribed to **Novatian**, also says that Adam “was driven away to prevent his touching the wood of the tree of life, . . . that he might not by living forever . . . carry about with him an unending fault.”—Pp. 13, 14. And Methodius advances a similar view. See extract in Epiphanius, *Adv. Hæres.* 64, 23, *Opp.* 1, p. 546. D.

¹⁹ Irenæus, *Cont. Hæres.* 5, 21, 3.

his suffering on the wood reigned, Death being conquered?"²⁰ A comparison of the citation already given from the same connection under the preceding section will evince that the Lord of the Underworld is the person designated by Death.

Cyprian lays down as one of his positions to be proved, "That (Christ) should not be CONQUERED by Death, nor remain in the Underworld."²¹ This cannot have meant that he was not to die, nor does it—considering the date when it was written—admit a natural interpretation, save as referring to the exertion of power requisite to escape from below. Elsewhere he says of Jesus, that "it was requisite for him to suffer, not in order that he might undergo, but that he might conquer Death. . . . Then he was carried in a cloud to heaven, that as a victor he might place before his Father man, whom he loved, whose cause he espoused, and whom he protected from Death."²²

The **Latin Version** or **Versions** of Scripture,²³ as quoted by Tertullian and Cyprian, were of a nature to spread the idea of a conflict below, and wherever that view prevailed, there was no doubt in the minds of Christians as to which party remained victor.

²⁰ Adv. Judæos, c. 10, *Opp.* p. 221. D. "From the wood" may have been either a *memoriter* confusion of verse 12 with 10, a marginal comment, or an interpolation.

²¹ Testimon. 2, 24.

²² De Idol. Van. 14, *Opp.* p. 16. The expression on the same page, that the Saviour "compelled . . . the Underworld to yield," refers to the restoration of Lazarus and others to life during his ministry, not apparently to his own Underworld mission.

²³ The Greek word *vīkos*, *victory*, seems to have been exchanged for or confounded with *veīkos*, *struggle* or *contest*. "Where, O Death, is thy sting? Where, O Death, is thy contest?"—**Tertul.** *De Resurrect. Carn.* cc. 47, 51, 54, *Opp.* pp. 415. D., 419. D., 423. C. "Where, O Death, is thy victory, or contest? Where, O Death, is thy sting?"—*Idem*, *adv. Marcion*, 5, 10, *Opp.* p. 596. B. "Death is swallowed up in the contest. Where, O Death, is thy sting? Where, O Death, is thy contest?"—**Cyprian**, *Testimon.* 3, 58, p. 81. In this form it would seem more difficult to attach a merely metaphorical sense to the passage.

The Underworld, like other conquered countries, seems to have suffered from the hostile visitation. A portion of a forged document, first mentioned by Eusebius and probably belonging to the latter part of the third century, is commonly quoted by the title of **Pseudo-Thaddeus**. It represents that Apostle as saying: "To-morrow . . . I will proclaim . . . how he was crucified, and descended into the Underworld, and rent open the inclosure which since eternity had not been rent, and rose again, and led the dead; for descending alone he awakened at the same time many, and thus ascended to his Father."²⁴

A passage in the **Larger Greek Ignatian Epistles** may also belong to the third century, though the same cannot be said of the whole Epistles. It is as follows: "Christ . . . was crucified and died, whilst the inhabitants of heaven, earth, and the Underworld looked on. . . . Inhabitants of the Underworld, that is, the multitude of those who ascended with the Lord. . . . And he descended into the Underworld alone, but ascended with a multitude, and rent the eternal inclosure, and destroyed its middle wall."²⁵

Origen's view as to the thoroughness of Christ's victory might already be inferred. Its strength in the reader's mind will not be diminished by the following: "The kingdom of Death is indeed already destroyed, and the captives which were held in it are taken away. But because the enemy himself and tyrant is yet to be destroyed, . . . at the close of the age, therefore we see him even now, not reigning, but rather robbing, and an exile from his kingdom, wandering through deserts and by-paths to seek for himself a band of the unbelieving."²⁶

In perusing the language of a former age, the reader is sometimes exposed to the risk of attaching to it too much, and at other times too little, force. The latter danger I suppose to be in the present case the greater. The Christians regarded themselves as in a conflict with the powers

²⁴ Euseb. Ecc. Hist. **1**, 13. Of the last clause three readings exist.

²⁵ Epist. to Trallians, c. 9.

²⁶ In Rom. Lib. **5**, 1, *Opp.* **4**, p. 551. C. D.

of evil. “*We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against . . . the World-rulers of this darkness, against the spirits (τὰ πνευματικά) of evil in heaven-high situations.*”²⁷ This was the language of Paul, and it was generally understood by the Christians as referring to their warfare with the demon powers who had falsely assumed the character of deities, who were trembling for the overthrow of their own authority, and who, to maintain it as long as possible, were instigating the Heathens in every way to persecute and crush Christianity. It was a matter of pride with the Christians, that when a demon had possessed a man, the simple follower of Christ, in the might of his Master’s name, could put the imaginary deity into convulsions and drive him out. Their ardor kindled and their courage mounted, as the tide of battle seemed going against them. When persecutions thickened and a brother asked, whether it were allowable to fly,²⁸ Tertullian exclaimed, “Do you fear man, O Christian, . . . you of whom the demons should be afraid?”²⁹ And while rack and fire did their work,³⁰ the voice of the same writer rung out its bold, though ill-judged and extravagant, defiance of the Heathens, daring them to test the fancied divinity of their gods, and staking the Christian exorcist’s life upon the issue, if he did not compel the imagined deity to confess itself an evil spirit. “Let some one be brought before your tribunals, who is known to be agitated by a demon. At the command of ANY Christian, that spirit shall as truly confess itself a demon as it elsewhere falsely proclaims itself a god. Equally let any one be produced of those who are regarded as impelled by the divine power, who by inhaling from the altars draw in the divinity with the fumes. . . . Let that

²⁷ Eph. 6, 12.

²⁸ “You asked lately, Brother Fabius, whether it were permissible to fly during persecution. . . . In proportion as persecutions thicken, the inquiry should be carefully instituted, ‘How ought the faithful to meet them?’” — *Tertul. De Fuga in Persecut.* c. 1, *Opp.* p. 689. A. B.

²⁹ *De Fuga in Persecut.* c. 10, *Opp.* p. 696 B.

³⁰ *Tertul. Apol.* c. 12, *Opp.* p. 14. B; compare cc. 2, 49, 50.

celestial virgin who promises rain, let Æsculapius himself, the teacher of medicine. . . . Unless they confess themselves demons not daring to lie to a Christian, pour out the blood of the audacious Christian on the spot.”³¹

The Christians believed in the existence of these demon deities as thoroughly as they did in their own. The victory won by their Master over the demon king was not to them an unmeaning tale. When the opponents of Origen asked³² the purpose of Christ's descent, their tone challenges other answer than that he descended to conquer.

We, too, — if we would realize a conflict in which mankind was the stake to be fought for, and the Son of God on the one side, with the congregated hosts of hell on the other, were the contestants,³³ — must forget that the demon deities were a fiction, and that the Underworld is an absurdity. As we read Origen's exposition of the Twenty-second Psalm, we should imagine the infernal powers, greedy for their prey, as already gathering around their

³¹ Ibid. c. 23, p. 24. D.

³² See § X.

³³ **Firmicus Maternus**, in the earlier part of the fourth century, attributes the earthquake and darkness at the Saviour's death to the shock of the subterranean battle. Of the work which he addressed to Constantius and Constans, the sons of Constantine the Great, one chapter is a tolerably specific description of Christ's mission to the dead, from which the following is an extract: “During three days the mustered band of righteous was collected by him (the Son of God), that the wickedness of Death might no longer prevail against them, nor the virtue of the righteous give way through prolonged despair. He broke [open] the eternal prison-house, and the iron doors collapsed at the command of Christ. The earth trembled, and by the shuddering of its firm foundations acknowledged the presence of Christ's divine power. Before the appointed time the circling whirl of the world [not of the earth] hurries the day [to its conclusion], and the sun with hastened course verges into night, whilst the measure of the daily hours is as yet incomplete. The very summit of the veil was rent, and the darkness of night covered the earth's orb with obscurer shades. All the elements were disturbed when Christ fought, — when he first armed a human body against the tyranny of death.” — Ch. 24.

victim on the cross, the angels as shrinking in panic from the descent, and the Saviour as hurried to the Underworld, in the gloom of whose mighty cavern, unaided and alone, he was to prove his strength against the king of terrors and the thronging legions of darkness. No whisper of incredulity should blunt our perceptions of the Saviour's fidelity, — faithful to the conflict whence all save he had fled, — or prevent us from realizing his dread of it; for he forgets the agony of the cross in a prayer, not for support under his sufferings, but for the divine aid in that more dreadful struggle which impended. Doubt should not check the rising enthusiasm, when we learn that he "broke in the adamantine gates of Death" and "wrestled with the powers there as their master." Unbelief should not quell the thrill of triumph when we are told that he crushed man's enemy in the security of his own fortress; that he 'rove asunder' his 'eternal prison-house,' liberated his captives, desolated his kingdoms, and drove him forth a homeless vagabond to glean by plunder in the by-ways a band of the unfaithful.³⁴ The thoroughness of the destruction raised the question subsequently whether the Underworld had not been left tenantless.³⁵

We can sometimes be aided in determining the tone of feeling on any subject, by examining that which prevails

³⁴ That I may not be suspected of coloring, I give the original from Origen, or rather the Latin translation of Rufinus, which alone remains to us: "Mortis quidem jam regna (Christus) destruxit, unde et captivitatem scribitur liberasse . . . videmus eum (Mortem) non tam regnare quam latrocinari: et depulsum regno, per deserta et avia circumeuntem, querere sibi infidelium manum." — *Origen in Rom.* Tom. 5, 1, *Opp.* 4, p. 551. C. D.

³⁵ *Evodius* in the fourth century asked Augustine "whether Christ . . . liberated all, . . . so that from the Lord's resurrection till the judgment the Underworld should be empty." — *Evod. Epist.* 98 (163). *Augustin. Opp.* Vol. 2, p. 90. L. And in the addition to the *Acts of Pilate*, the Underworld is represented as saying to Satan, "Turn and see that not one of the dead is left in me." — *Thilo, Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test.* p. 732.

on a kindred one. The Christians kept the first day of the week in memory of their Master's resurrection,³⁶ and the customs of the day were such as well befitted a season of glad triumph. No posture of humiliation should sully it, or careworn countenance derogate from it. Six days in the week — unless in so far as Saturday was excepted among Oriental Christians — might a man bow in devout adoration, or prostrate himself in the agony of contrition, before his God. But on the first day of the week no Christian knee was permitted to bend in prayer,³⁷ nor was a Christian countenance to be anxious.³⁸ On that day, as the deacon called the assembly to their devotions, it was with the admonition, "Let us stand perfectly erect;"³⁹ and when the recurring year brought with it the anniversary of the Master's resurrection, his followers for the space of fifty days maintained the same upright position in their prayers.⁴⁰

³⁶ "We observe the eighth day joyously, on which Jesus rose from the dead and ascended into heaven." — **Barnabas**, *Epist.* c. 15 (13, 10).

³⁷ "Abstinence from kneeling on the Lord's day is a symbol of the resurrection, . . . and this custom originated in Apostolic times, as the blessed martyr Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, says in his work on the Passover." — **Respons. ad Quæst.** 115, **ad Orthodoxos**, *Just. Opp.* p. 490. A. "We deem it impious (*nefas*) to fast on the Lord's day, or to pray kneeling." — **Tertul.** *De Corona Mil.* c. 3, *Opp.* p. 121. D. "Since there are some who kneel on the Lord's day, . . . the holy synod decrees that prayers be offered standing." — **Council of Nice**, *Canon* 20.

³⁸ "On the Lord's day we ought not only to abstain from kneeling, but from all anxiety of mind." — **Tertul.** *De Orat.* c. 18. (All after c. 14 is wanting in Rigault's edition.) "If any one from a pretence of asceticism fasts on the Lord's day, let him be anathema." — **Council of Gangra**, *Canon* 18.

³⁹ Ὁρθῶς στᾶμεν καλῶς. **Chrysostom.** *Hom.* 29 (al. 4), *De Incomprehensibili Dei Natura*, T. 1, p. 375; *Hom.* 2, in 2 Cor. p. 740. I take the quotation, though not the translation, from Bingham's *Antiq.*, Book 13, c. 8, § 3. Bingham calls this the "usual form so often mentioned by St. Chrysostom and others."

⁴⁰ "In which (i. e. the discourse on the Passover) Irenæus mentions the fifty-day [festival], in which we do not bend the knee, since it has an equal force with the Lord's day." — **Respons. ad Quæst.** 115, **ad Or-**

Even the Valentinians borrowed the language, if not the ideas, of the Catholics concerning a victory, for the *Doctrina Orientalis*, in treating of Death's rule, the insufficiency of other aid, and the interference of Christ, terms him 'the mighty Athlete.'⁴¹

§ XVII. CHRIST'S INCARNATION CONCEALED FROM SATAN.

WHAT induced Satan or his powers to take so dangerous a prisoner into their dominions? The answer to this question forms a singular chapter in Christian history. Paul had spoken (1 Cor. 2, 7, 8) of the hidden wisdom of God, "*which none of the rulers of this world knew, for if they had known it they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.*" The passage had no connection properly with the present subject, but the Fathers understood by the rulers of this world the powers of evil, who, they supposed, had been deceived as to the true character of Jesus.

Origen informs us: "The adverse powers, when they delivered the Saviour into the hands of men, did not perceive that he was delivered up for the salvation of any; but since none of them knew the '*wisdom of God concealed in a mystery,*' they so far as in their power delivered him to be killed, that his enemy Death might seize him for a subject, as he had seized those who died in Adam. But the MEN who killed him were prompted [or

thodox. Just. *Opp.* p. 490. A. "With the same immunity [from fasting and kneeling as on the Lord's day] we rejoice from Easter to Pentecost."

— **Tertul.** *De Cor. Mil.* c. 3, *Opp.* p. 121. D. "We observe the same custom in those [fifty days] as on the Lord's day, during which our ancestors handed it down to us that no fast was to be kept or knee bent, on account of reverence for the Lord's resurrection." — **Cassian**, *Collat.* 21, c. 20, as cited in Bingham's *Antiq.* 20, c. 2, § 5.

⁴¹ Μέγας ἀγωνιστής. Ch. 58, p. 983. Cp. in Letter from Lyons and Vienne (Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.* 5, 1; Vol. 2, 23 ed. Heinich.) the expression ἀκαταγώνιστον ἀθλητήν χριστόν.

impressed, τυποῦμενοι] by the will of those [the demons] who wished Jesus to become a subject of Death.”¹

By the ‘*wisdom of God concealed in a mystery*,’ would seem to be meant, in this connection, a previously arranged plan of the Deity for misleading Satan. The author of the **Homilies on Luke**, who often copies or imitates Origen, alleges this intention of the Deity as the object of Mary’s having been not only betrothed, but — as he understands Matthew — publicly united in marriage, to Joseph. “For if she had not had a betrothed one, and, as was commonly supposed, a husband, [the virginity of Mary] could not have been concealed from the Prince of this World. For immediately the thought would have silently suggested itself to the Devil, ‘That offspring must be divine. It must be something above human nature.’

“On the other hand, the Saviour had arranged that the Devil should be ignorant of his dispensation² and assumption of a body. Therefore he concealed it at his birth, and afterwards commanded his disciples that they should not make him known; and when he was tempted by the Devil, he nowhere confessed himself the Son of God, but only answered, ‘I ought not to adore you, nor to make those stones bread, nor to cast myself headlong,’ and in saying these things was always silent as to his being the Son of God. Search also in the other portions of Scripture, and you will find it to have been Christ’s will that the Devil should not know the coming of the Son of God. For the Apostle, asserting that the adverse powers were ignorant that he was to suffer, says, ‘*We speak wisdom, . . . which none of the princes of this world*

¹ Comment. in Matt. Tom. 13, 8, *Opp.* 3, p. 582. A. B.

² *Dispensationem*, not improbably a translation of *οικονομίαν*, the same word which will appear in extracts under this section from Justin Martyr and the *Doctrina Orientalis*, and which is used by Paul (Coloss. 1, 25) in close connection with the mystery of which the Homilies in the preceding quotation give an interpretation. See also, in a note near the close of this section, the same connected use of Economy and Mystery in an extract from Ephes. 3, 9, 10.

knew, for if they had known it they would not have crucified the Lord of glory." . . .

"But it may be objected that a demon did know it, — THAT ONE who said in the Gospel (Matt. 8, 29), '*Art thou come to torment us before our time? we know who thou art, the Son of God.*' But consider that it was an inferior in wickedness who recognized the Saviour. But he who is greater in wickedness, and a turncoat,³ and thoroughly worthless, was prevented by the very superiority of his wickedness from knowing the Son of God."⁴

Both in the **Larger** and **Smaller Greek Epistles of Ignatius** is the following passage, which is referred to by the foregoing writer in the above connection: —

"There was concealed from the Prince of this World the virginity of Mary, [the character of] her offspring, and likewise the death of the Lord [that is, the fact that the Messiah was to die], the three mysteries of the cry⁵ which transpired secretly."⁶

Irenæus shared in the view that the Devil had been deceived. "When the Devil," he says, tempted (Jesus) by the remark (Matt. 4, 3), '*If thou art THE SON OF GOD, command these stones to be made bread,*' the Lord repelled him by the precept of the Law, saying, '*It is written, MAN*

³ *Versipellis*. **Theophilus** says that Satan was "called a dragon because he was a runaway from God," Δράκων διὰ τὸ ἀποδεδρακέναι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ. (*Ad Autol.* 2, 28, *Justini Opp.* 369. B. C.) Whether a kindred thought is contained in the above expression, I do not know. Possibly, however, *versipellis* may mean manifold in disguises.

⁴ Hom. 6, Origen. *Opp.* 3, pp. 938, 939 (5, 105).

⁵ Κραυγῆς, an allusion probably to Hebrews 5, 7, where Jesus is said to have asked deliverance from Death with a '*loud cry,*' κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς. Only a mortal, it might be thought, would utter such a cry, and it implied the presence of death. Yet the Son of God could alone have uttered it with the hope of being heard. In the Addition to the Acts of Pilate, Satan is represented as saying of Jesus, "I know that he is a man, for I heard him say, '*My soul is greatly oppressed even to death.*'" — Thilo, *Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test.* pp. 702–704.

⁶ Ephesians, c. 19 (4, 10). The Larger Epistles add, "but [which] are manifested to us." The Smaller ones read, "which were done secretly by God."

does not live by bread alone.' In reply to the remark, '*If thou art the Son of God,*' (Jesus) used this confession, appropriate to a MAN, which blinded him."⁷

Clement of Alexandria also, in elucidating the value of ambiguous language, illustrates it from the fact that "by an ambiguous expression the Lord outwitted (*σοφίζεται*) the Devil at the time of the temptation."⁸

In the **Ascension of Isaiah**, the Pseudo-Prophet, speaking of the birth of Jesus, says, "I perceived . . . that he was concealed from all the heavens, the principalities and the gods of this world."⁹

Justin Martyr may have had an analogous idea, but he expresses it less clearly. "The Messiah, this Son of God, who existed before the morning star [sun ?] and moon, yet being incarnated, endured to be born of this virgin from the race of David, that through this 'Economy' the Serpent, who from the beginning [of the world ?] did wickedly, and the angels who have [since] become (or who are) like him, might be routed and Death be humbled, and at the second coming of Christ [at the beginning of the millennium ?] wholly lose his power over those who [both] believe on him (Jesus) and live acceptably ; finally [after the millennium ?] ceasing to exist, when some shall be sent for punishment to the condemnation of eternal fire, and others shall live together in a state of immortality, free from suffering, corruption, and grief."¹⁰

⁷ Cont. Hæres. 5, 21, 2.

⁸ Strom. 1, 44, *Opp.* p. 342, lines 31-33.

⁹ Ch. 11, 16.

¹⁰ Dialog. c. 45, p. 141. B. C. — In c. 39 (*Opp.* p. 136. D.), **Justin** says that the rulers "will not cease from killing and persecuting, through the influence of that wicked and deceitful spirit, the Serpent, such as confess the name of Christ, until he (Christ) shall again appear, and put an end to all, and apportion to each according to his deserts." The meaning of the passage in the text may be, that though Satan no longer gets possession of Christians so as to carry them to his realms, yet he has the power of persecuting them in this life. Or it may be as follows : Prior to Christ's advent, Satan as Lord of the Underworld held unlimited sway. Now he is humbled, yet he still obtains, not only unbelievers, but such CHRISTIANS as in his character of moral tempter he can mislead. At the millennium, righteous Christians are to be assembled in Christ's

Even in the opinions of the Theosophic Gnostics, the idea exists of Death having been outwitted. "Death," the **Doctrina Orientalis** informs us, "was outmanœuvred by artifice, δόλος δὲ ὁ Θάνατος κατεστρατηγήθη, for when the body died, and Death was on the point of seizing him [i. e. the man Jesus], the [Æon] Saviour [who had previously left him and risen again], sending an avenging ray of his power, frightened Death away."¹¹ And a prior chapter gives us as the reason for the Saviour's injunction to his disciples, in descending from the mount of transfiguration, "'Tell it to no one,' lest, understanding what the Lord is, they should abstain from laying hands on the Lord, and the 'Economy' should be fruitless, and Death should abstain from the Lord, as [it would be] to no purpose to make an effort on a hopeless case."¹²

In a work called **Extracts from the Prophetical Writings**,¹³ attributed to Clement of Alexandria, a somewhat fuller statement is made of the actual amount of knowledge which the Devil possessed. "The Devil knew that the Lord was to come, but whether this were he,¹⁴ he did not know. Wherefore he tempted him that he might ascertain his power. 'If,' said he, and [then] left him for a season; that is, he deferred the discovery till the resurrection. For he knew that the one who should rise again was the Lord, as did also the demons, for they suspected Solomon to be the Lord, but knew, on his committing sin, that he was not. . . . All the demons knew that the Lord was he who should rise after suffering."¹⁵

kingdom and withdrawn from his temptations. He will wholly lose his power of carrying them to his dominions, for he shall not be allowed to mislead them. At the close of the millennium, he will cease to exist.

¹¹ Doct. Orient. c. 61, Clem. *Opp.* p. 984.

¹² Doct. Orient. c. 5, Clem. *Opp.* p. 968.

¹³ Ex Scripturis Prophetiis Eclogæ. It will be referred to hereafter by the abbreviation Eclog. Prophet.

¹⁴ The word 'God' introduced by Sylburg into the text from the margin of a previous edition, and copied by Potter, merely embarrasses the connection.

¹⁵ Ch. 53, Clem. *Opp.* p. 1002. As the knowledge attributed to the demons in the above citation surpassed that which men had had, the

In the foregoing extract, the term 'resurrection' includes probably everything which pertained to the Saviour's breaking away from Death,—an extent of signification not uncommon¹⁶ whilst the idea of an Underworld mission existed. The term 'resurrection,' however, is in Greek the same as 'rising again,' and one Catholic writer seems to have used it in this latter sense, as equivalent with the term 'ascension,' and to have connected it with the prevalent idea that Satan was the lord of this world, or prince of the powers of the air, who had placed his throne in the firmament.

The writer alluded to is the already quoted author of the **Ascension of Isaiah**, by whom the Deity is represented as saying to Christ, "Go, descend through all the heavens; descend to the firmament, and the world, even to the angel who is in Hell,¹⁷ but who has not yet been hurled to utter perdition. Assimilate thyself . . . to the form of the angels of the firmament, and, carefully guarding thyself, be assimilated even to the angels who are in Hell. . . . When from the gods of death thou shalt ascend to thy own place, . . . then . . . shall the principalities and powers of the world worship thee."¹⁸ And afterwards this Pseudo-Prophet remarks concerning the

writer adds what he probably intended for an explanation. "Enoch already informs us that the transgressing angels taught men astronomy, soothsaying, and the other arts."—*Ibid.* Compare Book of Enoch, cc. 8 and 68. According to this, they must have had superhuman means of knowledge. Others than this writer supposed them to have had some inkling of Christianity prior to their expulsion or fall from heaven.

¹⁶ See the third citation from Origen under § VIII. The whole account of Christ's descent to the Underworld contained in the addition to the Acts of Pilate bears in the Paris manuscript D, and perhaps in others, as its title, 'The Resurrection.' See Thilo, *Cod. Apoc.* p. 606. Compare also the use of the term in a citation from the Church of England Homilies, to be given in Note G of the Appendix.

¹⁷ The Ascension of Isaiah was translated by Laurence from an Ethiopic manuscript, the Ethiopic being no doubt a translation from the Greek, which is no longer extant. The word 'Hell' in the English version of Laurence corresponds to 'Inferos,' Underworld, in his Latin rendering.

¹⁸ Ch. 10, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15.

Saviour's ascension: "I beheld him likewise in the firmament, where, as his form was not changed to theirs, all the angels of the firmament and Satan both perceived and worshipped him." ¹⁹

A natural inference from the above would be, that its author distinguished Satan from the Angel of Death. This is possible. But the inconsistencies of the document in other respects are such as to render it probable that the extract, and considerable more to the same purpose not here cited, are the efforts of an incoherent mind to elucidate popular views of Paul's language concerning principalities and powers,²⁰ in connection with Satan as prince of the powers of the air, and the concealment of Christ's descent and incarnation from him. The inconsistency of the Catholics — who placed Satan in the firmament as the God of this world, and at the same time located him in the Underworld as its lord — merely became more glaring when worked out by an incoherent mind. As the object of the writer was to make the Pseudo-Isaiah predict events which were regarded as having already occurred, it is not likely that he would advisedly make him predict things at variance with common belief.

¹⁹ Ch. 11, 23.

²⁰ "He humbled himself and became obedient unto death, and that the death of the cross. Wherefore God exalted him, . . . that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow of those in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord." — Phil. 2, 8-11. "That ye may know . . . the working of his mighty power, which he manifested in Christ by raising him from the dead. And he placed him at his right hand in a heaven-high position, far above all principality, and power, and lordship, and name." — Eph. 1, 18-21. "The economy [*oikonomia*], the word used by Justin and the *Doctrina Orientalis* of that secret which was hidden since the ages in God, the creator of all things [Griesbach omits *διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*], that it may now be made known to the principalities and powers in heaven-high situations." — Eph. 3, 9, 10. The word 'secret' scarcely expresses Paul's meaning, which would be still less conveyed by the rendering 'mystery,' adopted in the Common Version. The foregoing translation, however, expresses a common view of the Fathers, which, as the reader by a cursory examination can satisfy himself, was a very different one from Paul's.

§ XVIII. THE RANSOM.

1. *Definition of Terms.*

AN offering is something which may be presented to a friend,¹ and there was no difficulty experienced by the

¹ This view, to a considerable extent, was blended by the Fathers with the idea of our self-sacrifice and Christ's self-sacrifice to God. **Origen**, after quoting from the beginning of the twelfth chapter of Romans, proceeds thus to comment on it: "Since, says (the Apostle) we have shown that fleshly sacrifices are to be given up, according to the words of the Prophet, '*Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not; nor are they pleasing to thee,*' now I will teach you in what sacrifices God does delight. And these things I teach, not as commanding you, — for a legal command is unprofitable, — but as one who has undertaken the office of reconciling you to God. '*I beseech you, brothers,* and I beseech you not by the power, but *by the mercy of God, . . . that you offer your bodies a living sacrifice, holy and well pleasing to God,*' that it may be '*your reasonable service.*' . . . For such as mortify their members . . . offer intelligently (or reasonably) a living sacrifice, holy and pleasing to God, and fulfil, according to its spiritual signification, that law concerning sacrifices which is laid down in Leviticus, . . . concerning each of which, when remarking on the Book of Leviticus, we endeavored to explain according to our capacity. . . . The Apostle, therefore, not only teaches Christian believers to regulate their conduct and worship of God conformably to this, but even beseeches them by the mercy of God, in order thus to manifest that for the human race — prone as it is to fault — sacrifices of this kind have been provided by the commiseration of God, and that, if any of them should fall, the soul may be mended and restored to salvation, by a reasonable (or intelligent) offering, and by victims [appetites, passions, etc.] immolated in the manner that we have above described." — *Comment in Rom.* Lib. 9, 1, *Opp.* 4, p. 643, col. 1. B. C., col. 2. A. B., p. 644. A. B.

The remarks on Leviticus above alluded to may be found in *Hom.* 2, 4, *Opp.* 2, pp. 196, 191. Elsewhere **Origen** seems to include under, and as a part of, this self-sacrifice, the immolation of Christ's body at the crucifixion. "The Saviour," he says, "was come into this world, that he might offer his flesh as a sacrifice to God for our sins. . . . As long as the flesh lusts in me against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh,

Fathers in regarding Christ or ourselves as competent to make an offering to God, our Father and Friend.

A Ransom, when not a metaphorical expression, as in the use of it by Justin,² is defined with sufficient accuracy

and I am not yet able to subject the flesh to the spirit, I am subject indeed to God, but only in part, not wholly. . . . And, since we are all said to be HIS BODY and MEMBERS (1 Cor. 6, 15; 12, 27) so long as there are some among us who are not yet subjected with a perfect subjection, HE is spoken of [by the Apostle] as not subjected. But when he shall have consummated his work, and led his whole creation to the height of perfection, then he is regarded as subject in these whom he has rendered obedient to the Father, and in whom he has finished the work which his Father gave him to do, *‘that God may be all and in all.’*” — *In Levit. Hom.* 7, 1, 2, *Opp.* 2, pp. 220. D., 221. E. F., 222. A. B.

The Epistle ascribed to **Barnabas** speaks of Jesus as offering ‘the vessel of his spirit for our sins,’ c. 7 (6, 3), and in the same chapter (6, 5), as offering his ‘flesh’ for the ‘New People’; but the connection throws little light on it.

In the **Adumbrations** ascribed to Clement is a quotation from 1 Peter 1, 19, omitting all mention of the ‘Ransom’ which is found in the eighteenth verse, *“With precious blood as of an uncontaminated and unspotted lamb.”* “This,” says the writer, “refers to the old Levitical and sacerdotal rites, but signifies a soul purified by righteousness which is OFFERED TO GOD.” — *Adumb. in Pet. Opp.* p. 1006, col. 2, lines 17–21. The writer obviously regards the sacrifice as an offering, not as a ransom.

Cyprian quotes Psalm 51, 17, *“The sacrifice to God is a broken spirit. A contrite and humble spirit God does not despise”*; and says, “This sacrifice you offer to God. This sacrifice you perform without intermission day and night, being yourselves made sacrifices to God. . . . As the Apostle exhorts, . . . *‘I beseech you, brothers, by the mercy of God, that you constitute your bodies a living sacrifice, holy and pleasing to God,’* . . . in this way by greater deserts our works tend to the deserving of God’s good-will.” — *Epist.* 86, p. 232.

Arnobius deems the “reliable gifts and true sacrifices” to be “views worthy of and consonant to the divine nature, — *Diis dignas et eorum convenientissimas nomini.*” — *Adv. Gent.* 7, 51, with which may be compared the unworthiness of other sacrifices in cc. 5, 6, 7, of the same book.

² See his use of the term ‘Ransomer’ in a note under § IX., where it must mean one who redeems by his power. The Valentinians, according to the old Latin translation of Irenæus (1, 2, 4), and according to Ter-

by Origen as “a gift to enemies given by the conquered or by their leader, for the preservation and liberation of those who have been taken captive.”³

After a perusal of the two foregoing sections, it would scarcely be supposed that any who held the views there developed would regard Christ as having paid a ransom for mankind to their enemy and tyrant. Yet such is the view which is now to come before us.

2. *What was the Ransom?*

In the First Epistle to Peter it is said, “*Ye were ransomed . . . by the precious blood . . . of Christ.*”⁴

Before proceeding to the interpretations put upon this passage, it is requisite to state that the soul or life — both being expressed by the same word in Greek — was formerly regarded as in the blood. Thus **Tacitus**, in narrating the death of Lucanus, who was executed apparently by the then not uncommon method of bleeding, says, that, “as the blood flowed, he perceived his feet and hands to be growing cold, and his spirit to be retreating by degrees from the extremities, whilst his breast as yet remained warm and IN POSSESSION OF HIS MIND.”⁵ And again concerning Paulina, the wife of Seneca, who had bled nearly to death, the same writer remarks, — “Her countenance and limbs were so blanched as to render it obvious that much of the vital spirit had been emptied out.”⁶

Occasion will arise for introducing one or two other

tullian (*Adv. Valentin.* c. 9, p. 293. D.), used the name ‘Ransomer’ for the same Æon who was also called Vindicator (see note appended to the extract from Arnobius under § XXII. 3), and they no doubt connected it with the idea of redemption by power. Several of their Æons received appellations from the names or attributes of Christ as used or understood by the Catholics.

³ Comment. in Ps. 33 (34, 22), *Opp.* 2, p. 649. C.

⁴ Ch. 1, 18, 19.

⁵ Annals 15, 70.

⁶ Annals 15, 64.

passages⁷ based on this idea, and at the foot of the page will be found an instance of the systematic manner in which Origen carried it out.⁸

On the above-cited passage from the First Epistle of Peter Origen comments as follows: "If therefore we were bought with a price, . . . we were bought doubtless from some one whose slaves we were, and who demanded such a price as he pleased for the release of those whom he held. It was the Devil, however, who held us, to whom we had been allotted (or into whose power we had been dragged) by our sins. He therefore demanded as our price the blood of Christ."⁹

And again: "We were bought with the precious blood of Jesus. The SOUL of the Son of God was given as our ransom; but not his spirit, for he had already committed that to his Father, saying, '*Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit*'; nor yet his body, for we nowhere find any such thing written of him. . . .

"And here I would admonish of their error those who, from a conceit of glorifying Christ, confound what per-

⁷ See in Appendix, under Note B, extracts from the Adumbrations and the Philosophumena. The latter states a view of Epicurus.

⁸ Origen quotes Leviticus 17, 14: "*You shall not eat the blood, because the life (or soul) of ALL flesh is its blood, and you shall not eat the soul with the flesh*"; and remarks that in this passage "the blood of ALL animals is most obviously declared to be their soul." — *De Principiis*, 2, 8, 1, *Opp.* 1, p. 94. B. He explains that in insects usually deemed bloodless, the humor has the same force as the red blood, and constitutes the vital substance. Touching Christ, he argues that his incarnation implied a (human) soul, distinct from the divine nature: "For since he had real flesh [which of course implied blood], he also had a real soul. As to the mention in the Scriptures concerning the soul of God (Lev. 26, 11, 30), it is difficult to apprehend or communicate how it should be understood, for we have once professed his nature to be simple and without any admixture. Yet in whatever manner it is to be apprehended, the soul of God seems sometimes to be mentioned. Concerning Christ there is no doubt, and therefore it does not appear to me absurd to say or believe something of the same kind concerning the holy angels and other celestial powers." — *De Princip.* 2, 8, 2, *Opp.* 1, p. 94. B. C.

⁹ In Rom. Lib. 2, 13, *Opp.* 4, p. 495, col. 2. C. D.

tains to the First-Born of the whole creation with what refers to the soul and body of Jesus, or perhaps to his spirit; regarding what was seen and dwelt in this life as wholly one and uncompounded. For they inquire of us, ‘Was the Divinity which inhered in the Image of the invisible God,—was the supereminence of the First-Born of the whole creation,—was he through whom all things were created in heaven and on earth, visible or invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers,—was HE given as a ransom? . . . and to whom was he given? . . . To an enemy who held us as captives until the ransom was paid? And was that enemy competent to exact such a ransom?’

“Nor do I say these things as despising the SOUL of Jesus, or making it of small account. I only contend that IT was the ransom given by the WHOLE Saviour. But his exalted and divine nature could in nowise be given as a ransom. . . . And his body as a superfluity,—if we may thus style it,—constituted (or belonged to) that whole which [we read of], 1 Cor. 6, 17, ‘*He who is joined to the Lord is ONE spirit.*’”¹⁰

It is maintained in the extract just given, that the body of Jesus formed no part of the ransom. This was probably an expression of dissent from some of the Orthodox, who maintained that it was; that it had been given in exchange for our bodies. Origen, and the school to which he belonged, would not have thought our bodies worth ransoming. They deemed us well rid of them at death. On this point they differed little, if at all, from the Gnostics. The Orthodox maintained the restoration of our former bodies as all important. Tertullian argued, that as the body shared with the soul the duties and privations of this life and the sufferings of martyrdom, it was not fair to separate them in the future reward.¹¹

Now Irenæus, in treating of Death as swallowed up in victory, speaks of the flesh as “in a certain manner under

¹⁰ Comment. in Matt. Tom. 16, s, *Opp.* 3, pp. 726, 727.

¹¹ De Resurrect. Carnis, c. 8, *Opp.* pp. 384, 385. Compare Apol. c. 48; Adv. Marc. 1, 28; 5, 11; *Opp.* pp. 42, D., 451. D., 598. A.

the dominion of Death";¹² and he no doubt speaks from the same point of view in affirming, touching the Ransom, that "the Lord gave his soul for our souls, and his flesh for our flesh, *τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀντὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων σαρκῶν*,"¹³ and finds in this another allusion, as he thinks, to the old dispensation. "For (Christ) would not have had real flesh and blood [i. e. flesh and soul] wherewith to buy us out, unless he had been recapitulating in himself [the circumstances of] the old formation in Adam."¹⁴ "And since the Apostate acquired his mastery over us unjustly," Irenæus finds an antithesis in the conduct of 'The Word,' who "behaved justly even to the Apostate, redeeming from him his own [those who believed on him], not by force, as he originally mastered us when he seized rapaciously what was not his, but by persuasion and as became a divine being (*Deum*), persuading him without violence to accept what he (?) wished."¹⁵

This is not very consistent with the same writer's statement that the Word had bound the Apostate, plundered his goods, and JUSTLY taken him captive. It, however, afforded several new antitheses, which probably absorbed the attention of Irenæus. If he perceived any of his own incongruities, he must have preferred leaving their solution to others, for he has not attempted it himself.

In the first — the only genuine — epistle of **Clement of Rome** is a statement corresponding in phraseology with one of those quoted from Irenæus. Only a single, and evidently an interpolated, manuscript of this epistle exists in the original, nor has any ancient translation been preserved which might aid in eliminating from it later additions. Clement lived before the Gnostic controversy, during or after which I suppose the passage included in brackets to have been added. "In love the Master assumed our cause. From the love which he had for us,

¹² "Quæ et quodam dominio Mortis pressa est."— Cont. Hæres. 5, 13, 3.

¹³ Cont. Hæres. 5, 1, 1.

¹⁴ Cont. Hæres. 5, 1, 2.

¹⁵ Cont. Hæres. 5, 1, 1.

Jesus Christ our Lord, in accordance with God's will, gave his blood for us [even his flesh for our flesh, and his soul for our souls]. See, beloved, how great and wonderful is love."¹⁶

Tertullian says that Christ "died . . . on account of the Church, that he might commute body for body, the fleshly for the spiritual,"¹⁷ that is, that he might give his physical body for the Church, which in a metaphorical or spiritual sense was termed his body. Elsewhere he speaks of Christ as the 'Redeemer of the flesh,'¹⁸ and again treats Christ's suffering as the redemption of our flesh,¹⁹ and again regards Christ as having redeemed our bodies with his body.²⁰

3. *Why Satan accepted it.*

It might seem that a single human body or soul, or both united, would be but a poor indemnification to Satan for losing the souls of mankind, yet none of the Fathers—in the period at least under consideration—have attempted to explain his willingness to receive it.

There is another difficulty, however, lying on the face of the views which have been presented, namely, that Satan did not retain possession even of this soul. The solution—such as it is—of this difficulty must be found in the fact that Christ's incarnation had been concealed from Satan, and in the explanation presented by the following passage. "To whom," says **Origen**, "did (Christ) give his soul as a ransom for many? Not, of course, to God.²¹ Was it then to the Evil One? [Certain-

¹⁶ Cc. 49, 50 (21, 7, s).

¹⁷ Adv. Marcion. 5, 19, p. 613. C.

¹⁸ De Resurrect. Carnis, c. 2, p. 380. A.

¹⁹ De Pudicit. c. 11.

²⁰ Adv. Marc. 5, 7.

²¹ Some language of the Fathers might, if uttered by a modern divine, seem to imply a belief in the Vicarious Atonement,—in a satisfaction made to God. But so far at least as concerns those who lived in the second and third centuries, I believe that, in any instance where they have explained their own meaning, such a sense could not be forced into it. Hagenbach, whose Doctrinal History is entitled to a foremost rank

ly,] for he held us in his power until the soul of Jesus should be given him as our ransom; he being deceived by the supposition that he could hold it in subjection, and not perceiving that it must be retained at the cost of torture which he could not endure.²² Wherefore Death, thinking to have become already his master, is his master no longer, he being rendered ‘*free among the dead,*’ stronger than the power of Death; and so much stronger, that of those whom Death had overcome, all who wished could follow him, Death no longer availing anything against them; for whoever is with Jesus is free from seizure by Death, ἀνεπιληπτός ἐστι τῷ θανάτῳ.”²³

It was with a feeling of disappointment and regret that I perused for the first time the above passage in a writer whose wildest fancies are usually tinged with moral beauty. He is not the only individual, who, in attributing to one of the Saviour’s alleged natures what could not have been promised, performed, or affirmed by the other, has clouded the Master’s character with the appearance of deceit.

§ XIX. RECONCILIATION TO GOD.

THE Fathers regarded our sins as the means by which the demons obtained dominion over us. They also re-

among works of its kind, who, to quote from the title-page of his ‘Church History of the 18th and 19th Centuries,’ writes from the point of view of ‘Evangelical Protestantism,’ and from his remarks on the Socinians in his Doctrinal History (Vol. 2, § 268, 2d edit.) appears to lay stress on the Atonement, — Hagenbach states that in Tertullian, who first uses the term ‘satisfaction,’ this expression has a sense the reverse of ‘vicarious,’ that Tertullian uses it “of those who by confession and active repentance make reparation for their own sins.” See his Doctrinal History, 2d edit., Vol. 1, § 68, and note 5.

²² Christ, it will be remembered, descended “to wrestle with the powers there as their master.” The only natural sense of the passage above is that Satan found his ‘wrestler’s grasp’ unendurable.

²³ Comment. in Matt. Tom. 16, s, *Opp.* 3, p. 726. A. B.

garded these demons as the prompters of our sinful inclinations. Whilst misled into sin by the agency of these demons, we were of course alienated from God. If Christ by a victory had inspired terror into the powers of darkness, or by a ransom to their prince had bought them off, so that they were willing to let his followers alone, the natural inference would be, that Christians need no longer be alienated from God. They could return to him.

The whole history of the Christians evinces, that any expressions which indicate their having been ransomed or won from the powers of darkness must be taken with considerable allowance.¹ Yet they do treat themselves as peculiarly exempt from influences of the demons,² and though not always definite, and sometimes, perhaps, inconsistent, as to the manner in which Christ had effected this, there are passages in which this moral exemption is connected with Christ's Victory or Ransom, and in some of them our own service of God, or reunion with him, is blended into the conception.

The author of the **Homilies on Luke**, often an imitator of Origen, quotes from Luke (1, 69–71), “*He has raised up*

¹ A volume might be filled with their ideas of the contest which was still going on. The following may not be uninteresting to the reader as a specimen of views entertained by a spiritually-minded man concerning the moral conflict of Christians. **Clement of Alexandria**, speaking of the ‘spiritual powers against which we wrestle,’ says: “For I think that it is an occupation of the maleficent powers, that they endeavor to infuse their own disposition into everything, so that they may throw down and gain possession of us who have renounced them. It naturally follows that some get thrown down. But as often as men grapple more athletically in the conflict, the aforesaid powers fighting an all-powerful battle, and advancing even to the crown, then give out covered with ‘bloody dust’ (ἐν πολλῷ τῷ λυθρῷ), and wondering at the victors.” — *Strom.* Lib. 2, 110, p. 487. A similar passage occurs, *Strom.* 7, 3, p. 839, lines 40–45.

² Even the Theosophic Gnostics held that after baptism the evil spirits “trembled before him on whom but a little previously they operated.” — **Doct. Orient.** c. 77, *Clem. Alex. Opp.* p. 987. Knowledge, their own peculiar privilege, produced the same effect. — *Doct. Orient.* c. 78.

a horn of salvation for us in the house of David his son, as he spoke by the mouth of the holy prophets, — a salvation from our enemies,” and continues his comments and quotations thus: “Let us not now think that mention is made of physical, but of spiritual enemies. For the Lord Jesus came ‘*mighty in battle,*’³ to destroy all our enemies, that he might free us from their snares, — ‘*from the hand of our enemies and the hand of those who hate us.*’

“‘*To perform mercy to our fathers.*’ I think that, at the advent of the Lord, our Saviour, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob enjoyed God’s mercy. . . .

“We were not sensible of our enemies, nor did we perceive them fighting against us, but unconsciously (*nescimus quomodo*) we were rescued from their jaws and snares in a moment, and suddenly, and he transferred us into the inheritance and lot of the just. And we were ‘*freed from the hand of our enemies without fear* THAT WE MIGHT SERVE GOD IN HOLINESS AND RIGHTEOUSNESS BEFORE HIM ALL OUR DAYS.’”⁴

Irenæus had apparently a similar conception floating before his mind, together with that of a release from the Underworld, in a passage already quoted: “By a man (i. e. by a human Christ) it was proper that he (the apostate angel), when conquered, should be bound, . . . THAT MAN, BEING FREED, SHOULD RETURN TO HIS GOD.”⁵

The Epistle ascribed to **Barnabas** tells us: “It is written in what manner the Father commanded him (Christ) that, RANSOMING US FROM DARKNESS, HE SHOULD PREPARE FOR HIMSELF A HOLY PEOPLE. For the Prophet says (Is. 42, 6, 7), ‘*I the Lord thy God have called thee in righteousness, . . . and will strengthen thee, . . . to open the eyes of*

³ An allusion to Ps. 24, 8. Jesus being regarded, according to a common conception, as the special Deity of the Old Testament. See Appendix, Note A.

⁴ Hom. 10, Origenis *Opp.* 3, p. 943, col. 1 C. D., 2 B. C. (5, 118–120). An accompanying Greek fragment, if by Origen, evinces that he had expressed himself in similar words. It is quoted from “sheets” of Grabe and Combelsius without mention of where they found it.

⁵ Cont. Hæres. 5, 21, 3.

the blind, to lead out the bond from their fetters, and such as sit in darkness out of the prison-house. Know, therefore, whence we were ransomed.”⁶ If the ransom from darkness be not a mere figure of speech, it must mean from the Powers or Prince of Darkness. The last part of the quotation from Isaiah may have been understood by the writer as referring to the release of the departed from the Underworld. He believed Christ’s Underworld Mission,⁷ and that the Saviour had ransomed us from Death.⁸

According to **Justin**, “The offering of wheat-flour . . . for those purified from leprosy was a type of the Eucharistical [thank-offering] bread, which Jesus Christ our Lord gave us to partake of in remembrance of the suffering which he suffered for such as are purified in their souls from all wickedness, that we may at the same time thank God, both for the creation of the world and all things in it, on man’s account, and for our liberation from the evil in which we were, and for the overthrow of the ‘Powers and Authorities’ [the evil spirits], with a perfect overthrow, through him who, in accordance with his will, became subject to suffering.”⁹ The connection between Christ’s suffering and this liberation Justin does not explain.

Tertullian appears to identify the purchase of man FROM HIS SINS with the ransom paid in the Underworld. After speaking of Christ’s sufferings and death, he adds :

⁶ Ch. 14 (12, 20–22).

⁷ See § VI.

⁸ See § XXII. 4.

⁹ Dialog. c. 41, p. 137. D. E. In a preceding chapter (c. 39, p. 136. B. C.) **Justin** interprets Psalm 68, 18): “*He ascended on high, he led captive the captives,*” — as a prediction that the Christians should be ‘led captive’ out of their error or wandering (πλάνης, the same word which after a few lines he connects as an adjective with Satan, the author of it). Whether this excludes any application by him of the same passage to the release of the departed from the Underworld, or whether the release of both living and dead from Satan’s power were identified in Justin’s mind as parts of man’s liberation, is not a question to be pronounced upon positively. I incline to the latter idea, as more consonant with the views of the age.

“All this that we might be bought FROM OUR SINS. The sun disappeared on the day of our purchase. Our emancipation took place in the Underworld, and our stipulated price (or our guaranty) is in heaven (*apud inferos emancipatio nostra est et stipulatio nostra in cælis*). The eternal gates were lifted up that the King of Glory might enter, — the Lord of Hosts, who had bought man from the earth, nay, from the Underworld, into heaven. . . . And the Lord ransomed him from the angels, — the world-ruling powers, — from the spirits of wickedness, [and as a consequent] from the darkness of this age, from eternal judgment, from perpetual death.”¹⁰

Elsewhere, if I understand him, he directly connects the liberation from Satan or his angels with reconciliation to God. Opposing Marcion's idea of another Deity than the Creator, Tertullian asks: “To whom does (Christ) reconcile all things, making peace by the blood of his cross, unless to Him whom all things had offended, against whom they had rebelled through the promptings of the transgressing angel (or angels), WHOSE THEY LATELY WERE.”¹¹

The reader may wish also to exercise his own judgment as to whether the idea of reconciliation, in the following passage from **Cyprian**, be intended as the effect of what precedes it, or whether it merely stand in juxtaposition therewith. Speaking of immortality, he treats it as a favor which Christ confers “by subjecting Death to the trophy of his cross, by ransoming the believer at the price of his blood, by reconciling man to God, by vivifying mortality with a celestial regeneration.”¹²

¹⁰ De Fuga in Persecut. c. 12, *Opp.* p. 697. D.

¹¹ Adv. Marcion. 5, 19, *Opp.* p. 613. B. *Per transgressionem cujus novissime fuerant.* Tertullian uses ‘the Transgression’ for the transgressing angel (or angels), in the same manner as Irenæus uses ‘the Apostasy,’ *Apostasia*, for the apostate angel, Lib. 5, 1, 1. So in 1 Pet. 1, 1, *διασπορά*, ‘the Dispersion,’ means the dispersed Jews, and in Eph. 4, 8, ‘the Captivity’ means the captives, and Tertullian uses *humanam servitutem* for enslaved mortals, *Adv. Marcion.* 5, 8, quoted on p. 53.

¹² Ad Demet. ch. 26. On the vivifying of mortality, see Appendix, Note B.

To preserve unity of translation, I have used the word 'ransom' in the foregoing extracts, where sometimes, perhaps, the writer thought of a 'redemption' effected by force. We have already seen that Justin connects the idea of power with the term 'Ransomer,' in a passage which the reader would do well to compare with the present head.¹³

§ XX. DISCOMFORTS OF THE UNDERWORLD.

THE Heathen conception of an Underworld was far from cheerful. Even its abodes for the innocent¹ were but a miserable exchange for this life.

¹³ See note to the extract from Justin, under § IX.

¹ These must not be confounded with Elysium, the alleged residence of pet heroes. **Smith's** Classical Dictionary (Anthon's edit.), article *Elysium*, says: "In Homer (Od. 4, 563), Elysium forms no part of the realms of the dead; he places it on the west of the earth, near Ocean, and describes it as a happy land, where there is neither snow, nor cold, nor rain, and always fanned by the delightful breezes of Zephyrus. Hither favored heroes, like Menelaus, pass WITHOUT DYING, and live happy under the rule of Rhadamanthys. The Elysium of Hesiod and [that of] Pindar are in the Isles of the Blessed (μακάρων νῆσοι), which they placed in the Ocean. . . . The Elysium of Virgil is part of the lower world, and the residence of THE SHADES of the Blessed." This last implies (see p. 164 n.) that Virgil placed sun and stars within the earth, which I formerly discredited but of which folly I have since found a solution. A Jewish work which he imitates (see *Judaism*, Note A, footnote 21^a) spoke of two localities, Paradise a place of perpetual light, and the Elysian Plain which in that document probably corresponded to Abraham's bosom in the Underworld. Virgil, who was no expert in Jewish theology, confused the two, thus putting sun and stars into the Underworld. He makes these fields the temporary abode of a few from among the dead (*parci lacta arva tenemus*, *Æneid*, 6, 744) who have been put through a kind of purgatory or purifying process (*Æneid*, 6, 736-744), and who experience conjointly (*agmine magno*, *Æneid*, 6, 746), after a thousand years, a physical resurrection, an idea borrowed perhaps (see *Judaism*, Note A, footnote 65) from the Erythræan verses.

In a somewhat copious account of the Lower Regions given us by **Virgil**, we are told: "The next localities [after those allotted to such as have been unjustly put to death] are inhabited by the afflicted, who in innocence destroyed themselves, and, sick of the light, threw away their own life. How gladly would they now endure poverty and severe labor [provided it were] in upper air!"²

The Christians who installed Satan as ruler of the Underworld did not certainly add to its attractions as a residence; yet it may be doubted whether his presence increased their conceptions of its gloom. In fact, the distinction in it between Abraham's bosom and the abode of the wicked, though theologically recognized by Christians, seems to have been merged in the generally desolate and dreary ideas of the whole region.³

Clement of Alexandria, alluding to the despair, not of the wicked, but of the good below, — the despair of those who afterwards heartily accepted the Master's teaching as soon as proffered, — speaks of them "as having given themselves up to destruction with the feeling of a man who voluntarily flings himself overboard into the sea."⁴ And the passage already quoted from the **Writer to the Hebrews** can hardly be interpreted in a natural manner without implying this extremity of dread at the idea of consignment to the 'Kingdom of Death.' Christ partook of our nature, "*that through his death he might destroy him who has the dominion of death, that is, the Devil, and [thereby] free as many as were subjected to A SLAVERY DURING THEIR WHOLE LIVES by their fear of Death.*"⁵

The lines of Watts, applied to such a futurity, would become more intelligible than if understood of anything which he himself can have been supposed to believe: —

² *Æneid*, 6, 434 — 437.

³ Beausobre overlooks this fact, as well as falls into some other errors in his remarks concerning Marcion's view of Christ's Underworld mission, which may be found in his *Histoire du Manichéisme*, Vol. 2, p. 112. He, however, is more successful than Mosheim in seizing Marcion's point of view.

⁴ Strom. 6, 45, p. 763.

⁵ Ch. 2, 14, 15.

“But darkness, Death (?), and long despair
Reign in unbroken silence there.”

It was an hereafter which not only failed to buoy or sustain, but which oppressed the soul.

Tertullian, at the date of his tract *De Anima*, maintained that, prior to the resurrection, Christians themselves, excepting martyrs, were not exempt from the Underworld. In that treatise, therefore, he might have been expected to bring into strong light the distinction between Abraham's bosom and the place of the wicked, — a distinction which he himself held. Yet, in that very tract, when his opponents exclaim, “What difference is there then between Heathens and Christians, if the same prison awaits both?”⁶ he does not attempt to discriminate between their respective abodes, but argues that only martyrs enter Paradise, and concludes: “Recognize, therefore, a difference in death between the heathen and believer, in case you lay down your life for God, . . . not in gentle fevers and in bed, but in tortures.”⁷

The Underworld is treated in the first of these extracts as a prison, and in this light Tertullian seems to have been fond of identifying it with the prison mentioned by the Saviour, *Matt.* 5, 26. He alludes in one passage to the Second Coming of Christ, which Christians deemed close at hand, and to the change which, in accordance with *1 Cor.* 15, 52, the living were then to experience, and exclaims, “Who is there that will not desire, while yet in the flesh, to put on immortality, and [simply] to continue his life, . . . so as not to experience [a confinement in] the Underworld, where even ‘*the last farthing will be exacted*?’”⁸

Elsewhere he expresses an analogous idea, in a passage which is a curious specimen of interpretation, and morally irreconcilable with a *SIMULTANEOUS* resurrection.⁹ “If,”

⁶ *De Anima*, c. 55, *Opp.* p. 353. C.

⁷ *De Anima*, c. 55, p. 353. D.

⁸ *De Resurrect.* c. 42, p. 410. B.

⁹ **Tertullian** held at times to but one simultaneous and general resurrection of just and unjust. See *Adv. Marc.* 4, 31, quoted in § XXII. 5.

says he, "the mention of an adversary in the accompanying observation [*Agree with thine adversary*'] be understood of the Devil, you will be admonished to enter into that concord with him also, which results from fidelity to your agreement. For you have agreed to renounce him and his pomp and his angels. This was the agreement between you. Mutual friendship depends on your keeping your pledge, and not resuming afterwards any of his things which you have forsworn,—which you have returned to him, lest he present you to God the judge as a defrauder and transgressor of your agreement, . . . and the judge deliver thee to the executing angel, and he commit thee to the Underworld prison, whence you shall not be dismissed until every trifling fault be discharged by a delay of the resurrection. What can be more suitable than this meaning? What truer than this interpretation?"¹⁰

The reader, probably, will have already inferred that thoughts of consignment to the Underworld were not peculiarly pleasing either to those—the mass of Christians—whose theology exempted them from, or to those—the few exceptions—whose theology subjected them to it. He will also be prepared to comprehend why one class of Catholics,¹¹ who were deterred by the fear of

Elsewhere he teaches two resurrections, one of the just and another of the unjust. "The Devil having been banished meanwhile to the abyss, the prerogative of the first resurrection will be ordered from the throne. Subsequently fire [for the general conflagration] having been supplied, the decree of the universal resurrection will be judicially announced from books."—*De Resurrect. Carnis*, c. 25, p. 397. B. On either of these two suppositions the good or the less faulty were, by "delay of the resurrection," to be detained in prison whilst the last farthing was being exacted from their companions. To avoid this, Tertullian invented a novel view, namely, that during the millennium "will be completed the resurrection of the saints who will rise earlier or later, according to [each one's] merits."—*Adv. Marc.* 3, 24, p. 499. C. According to this the resurrection of the just was not simultaneous, but a consecutive series of liberations from below.

¹⁰ *De Anima*, c. 35, *Opp.* p. 338. C. D.

¹¹ See § XXII. 4.

heresy from sending Christians to heaven at death, might be deterred by popular feeling from sending them to the Underworld, and be left in perplexity as to how they should dispose of them.

§ XXI. THE LOCALITY OF PARADISE.

1. *Object of the Inquiry.*

THE unanimity of the early Christians in never turning their eyes to the Underworld as a locality for Paradise will have some bearing on an argument yet to be offered for the genuineness of the Gospels. The frequency with which it was located in heaven may explain the fact, that that portion of the Catholics¹ who feared to send the righteous either to heaven or the Underworld at death did not in a body fall back upon Paradise as a substitute. The words of Paul (2 Cor. 12, 4) and common opinion gave such support to its heavenly locality, as to make them afraid of countenancing heresy if they sent believers thither before the resurrection.

That Paradise was never located by the early Christians in the Underworld, I should have deemed too obvious for argument, were not the contrary advanced in such a work as the *Doctrinal History* of Baumgarten-Crusius and Hase,² and partially countenanced by what

¹ See § XXII. 4.

² **Baumgarten-Crusius**, in his *Text-Book of Doctrinal History* (note on p. 1301), states "that Paradise and Heaven were constantly distinguished [from each other]," referring for his authority to "Cyril of Jerusalem and others, as Origen." In his later work, the *Compendium of Doctrinal History* (Vol. 2, p. 388), he says, "Paradise became gradually elevated in glory (*verklaert*) from a locality of the Underworld to a situation in heaven." He wrote the text to this volume without the notes, which, with the exception of the first few pages, were subjoined after his death by Hase. The note of Hase on this last quotation is as follows:

appears to have been an oversight or misconception of Huet and Muenscher.³

In the Greek translation of Genesis (2, 8), the term 'Paradise corresponds to the English rendering *garden* and would naturally convey the idea of an earthly locality. The language of Paul (2 Cor. 12, 4) suggests a heav-

"Paradise, in the history of Church opinions, has experienced more wanderings than the Holy House of Loretto. According to Hebrew conceptions, a portion of the earth; according to comparisons with Elysium, a constituent part of the Underworld; gradually elevated into heaven; then, especially by the mystics of the Middle Ages, completely called in question as a locality, and conceived of as a spiritual condition."—Vol. 2, note C. on p. 388. Tertullian, it may be remarked, is the only writer of the first three centuries, unless some passage have escaped me, who compares Paradise with the Elysian Fields, and in the passage where this occurs he places it on earth, not in the Underworld.

³ Huet in his *Origeniana*, Lib. 2, c. 11, Quæst. 12, makes an imperfect quotation from Origen (In Numeros Homil. 26, 4, *Opp.* 2, p. 372. C.), and has misled himself and Muenscher into the opinion that Paradise is there confounded with Abraham's bosom, the latter of which localities is commonly placed in the Underworld. In the passage in question **Origen** speaks of the soul at death as "transferred to the next life (or world, *aliud seculum*), which is denominated either Abraham's bosom . . . or Paradise, . . . or [by the titles of] any other places or mansions known perchance to God, through which the soul that trusts in God passes, until it comes to the river which makes glad the city of God." He is speaking, as it would seem, of distinct and successive localities.

The identification of Paradise and Abraham's bosom, thus erroneously attributed to Origen, is by Beausobre, in his valuable *History of Manichæism* (Vol. 2, p. 112), ascribed to the Fathers without especial limitation, and without any reference to support it. Beausobre's work is suggestive, and, on most points, richly supplied with references, but his statements are not to be received without examination. Whoever reads his remarks on the above-cited page concerning Hades, Tartarus, Paradise, and Abraham's bosom, will find errors enough in two or three sentences to evince the need of caution while perusing him.

Tertullian, who in one work likens Paradise to the Elysian Fields (*Apol.* c. 47), in another (*Adv. Marcion.* 4, 34), both of which will hereafter be quoted, likens Abraham's bosom to the same locality. In either case he means a locality outside of the Underworld. See the fourth division of this, and the fifth of the twenty-second section.

only one.⁴ Some Christians adopted the one theory, some the other, some were enabled by their theology to adopt both. Irenæus may have tried to stand on middle ground, and Tertullian was bold enough to defy all common opinions when it suited his convenience.

2. *Twofold Theory.*

Origen, following out, perhaps, his system concerning the twofold sense of Scriptures, believed in a heavenly and an earthly Paradise. The former he located in the THIRD heaven, for he affirms that Paul heard in the third heaven what, according to his own quotation immediately preceding, he heard in Paradise.⁵ In this Paradise Adam had originally been. "The Lord God," says Origen, "cast him out of Paradise and placed him on this earth over against the Paradise of delights, and this was the punishment of his fault which has certainly passed upon all men. For we are all formed in this place of humiliation [the earth], and valley of tears; whether because all who have been born from Adam were in his loins and were ejected equally with himself, or whether in some inexplicable manner, known to God alone, each individual [Origen believed the pre-existence of souls] has been cast out and received condemnation."⁶

Elsewhere he says: "Who is so silly as to believe that God, like a human farmer, planted Paradise [a garden] in

⁴ The language of Paul implies a prior belief among the Jews, or among some of them, that Paradise was in heaven. Without this the Apostle would hardly have been understood. The same is corroborated, moreover, by one of **Wetstein's** quotations appended to Luke 23, 43: "Chagiga, fol. 14. 2, 'Four have entered Paradise by the hand of God.' Schol. 'Not that they in fact ascended, but they seemed to themselves to ascend.'" So, also, in the **Sibylline Oracles**, those who honor the true God are represented as "inhabiting the Garden of Paradise."—*Proem*, 2, 48 (edit. of Alexandre, *Proem*, 86).

⁵ *Fragmenta*, *Opp.* 4, p. 694. A. Compare *Ad Martyr.* 13, *Opp.* 1, p. 282. E.

⁶ *Comment.* in *Rom. Lib.* 5, 4, *Opp.* 4, p. 556. A. B. Compare p. 546. A.

Eden towards the east, and put a visible and perceptible tree of life in it; so that any one by eating of this tree should partake [of the knowledge] of good and evil?"⁷

Of the earthly Paradise he says: "I think that whoever departs this life in holiness will remain in a certain place on earth which the Scriptures call Paradise as in a place of instruction, and, if I may so express it, a school for souls, in which they are taught concerning all things that they have seen on earth, and receive certain hints also of the future. . . . If any one is clean in heart, and particularly pure in mind and quick in the use of his faculties (*exercitatio sensu*), he will depart at an earlier day, and ascend without delay to the region of the air (*aeris locum*), and will [finally] arrive at the kingdom of the heavens, by passing through the mansions, if I may so express myself, of the several localities which the Greeks call spheres (that is, globes⁸), but which the divine Scripture names heavens. . . . The Saviour alludes to these diverse localities when he says (John 14, 2), '*In my Father's house are many mansions.*'"⁹

Marcion was no advocate of double senses in Scripture, yet he seems to have believed in a celestial and terrestrial Paradise. According to Tertullian, "He treats every question concerning Paradise";¹⁰ but as Tertullian's object was to ridicule rather than to state Marcion's opinion, it is only by an eductive process that we can attain it. A preparatory remark or two may assist us in effecting this. The superterrestrial system of Marcion, unlike that of the Valentinians, did not extend beyond the heavens, of which he seems to have numbered but three, — a number probably adopted from Paul's words (2 Cor. 12, 4).¹¹ In the third heaven — to which it will be remembered that Paul was caught up — dwelt the Supreme Deity and Christ. Tertullian quotes the opinion of Marcion, that from love

⁷ De Principiis, 4, 2, 16, *Opp.* 1, p. 175.

⁸ An addition, no doubt, of the Latin translator.

⁹ De Principiis, 2, 11, 6, *Opp.* 1, p. 106. F. A. B.

¹⁰ Adv. Marcion. 5, 12, *Opp.* p. 600. B.

¹¹ See Appendix, Note C.

of man Christ “descended from the third heaven.”¹² And again, after quoting his view that one who from the course of argument must be the Supreme Deity had “his own world and his own heaven,” he adds, “But we shall see about THAT THIRD HEAVEN when we come to discuss your copy of the Epistles.”¹³ The heaven of the Creator was a lower one. According to the same writer, Marcion “maintains that he (Christ) in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius descended into Capernaum, a city of Galilee,—of course from the heaven of the Creator, into which he had previously descended from his own, so that in proper order his descent ought first to have been described out of his own heaven into that of the Creator.”¹⁴

The Creator's Paradise must, according to Marcion, have been on earth,¹⁵ and the one to which Paul was carried—the Paradise of the Supreme Deity—must have been above the Creator, for Tertullian ridicules the unwillingness of Marcion to consider the Supreme Deity as using what belonged to the other. He asks “whether (the Supreme) God could not have a Paradise of his own upon earth, without obtaining the use of the Creator's [for the interview with Paul] by way of a favor.”¹⁶ A probable

¹² “Considera hominem . . . hoc opus dei nostri, quod tuus dominus . . . adamavit, propter quem . . . de tertio cœlo descendere laboravit.” — *Adv. Marcion.* **1**, 14, *Opp.* p. 439. D.

¹³ *Adv. Marc.* **1**, 15, *Opp.* p. 440. B.

¹⁴ *Adv. Marcion.* **4**, 7, *Opp.* pp. 506. D., 507. A. So, too, in another place: “If he (the Supreme Deity) has his own world below him and above the Creator, he must have made it in the vacant space between his feet and the Creator's head.” — *Adv. Marc.* **1**, 15, p. 440. C.

¹⁵ Marcion did not regard matter, which he deemed self-existent, as a suitable substance out of which to form anything very perfect. He maintained, according to Theodoret, that the Creator “from the purest of it had formed the heaven, from the remainder the four elements, and from the dregs Hades and Tartarus. And again, sifting out the purest of the earth, he prepared Paradise.” — *Theodoret, Hæret. Fabulæ*, **1**, 24, *Opp.* **4**, p. 158. Compare Philo (*On Creation*, c. 47; Paris edit. p. 21), as to the selection of earth by the Deity when he formed man.

¹⁶ *Adv. Marcion.* **5**, 12, p. 600. B. *Tertullian* in the same passage carries out his ridicule of this scrupulous non-appropriation of what

conjecture is that Marcion located the heavenly Paradise in the third heaven.

3. *Paradise in Heaven.*

Tertullian represents **opponents** as maintaining the soul's direct departure at death to Paradise, which he meets by the question, "How will the soul be exhaled into heaven"¹⁷ prior to the judgment? so that these opponents must have placed Paradise in heaven.

He himself sometimes places Paradise in heaven. That he at others locates it on the earth, is to be accounted for more probably by the supposition of inconsistency, than by that of his having held the twofold theory. In his work on *Patience*, he treats man as originally "innocent, the friend of God his neighbor [so called, perhaps, because both lived in the same locality], and a colonist¹⁸ of Paradise; but when he gave way to impatience he ceased to know God, and to have the capacity of enduring CELESTIAL things. Thenceforward man was given to the earth, and ejected from the sight of God."¹⁹

According to Irenæus, the **Valentinians** "maintain that the seven heavens [of the Creator] are . . . angels, . . . and Paradise, SINCE it is ABOVE the third heaven, they call The Fourth."²⁰ And it must no doubt be Valentinians to whom the *Doctrina Orientalis* alludes as holding that "Man was created in Paradise, — the fourth heaven."²¹ Compare § IV. note 6. Valentinians may by 'the Fourth'

belonged to the Creator, by alluding to Paul's words, 2 Cor. 12, 7, 8: "There was given me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me. . . . I besought the Lord thrice that it might depart from me." He remarks: "I wonder that your excellent Lord . . . should cuff his own apostle by a messenger of the Creator's Satan rather than by one of his own." Marcion, it will be remembered (see § XIV.), regarded Satan as an angel — a fallen one probably — of the Creator.

¹⁷ *De Anima*, c. 55, p. 353. C.

¹⁸ Tertullian regarded man, not as created, but as colonized in Paradise.

¹⁹ *De Patientia*, c. 5, p. 162. A. B.

²⁰ *Cont. Hæres.* 1, 5. 2 (1, 1). Compare *Tertul. adv. Valentin.* c. 20, p. 298. C.

²¹ C. 51, *Clem. Alex. Opp.* p. 981.

have meant the fourth space, the one above the third heaven.

The above extract from Irenæus assumes that Paradise is ABOVE the third heaven. On the reason for assuming this, some light may be thrown by the manner in which **Clement of Alexandria** quotes Paul: "I know a Christian who was caught up into the third heaven, and THENCE into Paradise."²² Clement believed, therefore, as it would seem, that Paradise was ABOVE the third heaven.

Cyprian places Paradise in heaven, or identifies it with heaven. To avoid repetition, the reader is referred for his views to Note E of the Appendix.

4. *Paradise on Earth.*

Theophilus writes with his eye on the Old Testament narrative, which in his opinion clearly implies that Paradise is on the earth. With two of the rivers which flowed out of it—the Tigris and Euphrates—he was well acquainted, seeing that they were near to (Antioch) where he lived (*nostris regionibus vicini*). Of the other two which watered the East, one, the Geon, flowed round the whole of Ethiopia, and was "said to appear in Egypt under the name of Nile." Paradise was midway in beauty—not in locality, as Theophilus is sometimes mistaken to have said—between heaven and earth.²³ Man after the resurrection was to be replaced in it.²⁴

According to **Methodius**, "Paradise, whence we were ejected in our first parent, is manifestly a spot selected from this earth as a pleasant resting-place, and set apart as a better habitation for the saints. Thence appear the Tigris and Euphrates and other rivers which issue from it, pouring their discharge of waters into our continent. For they do not plunge down from the heavens above, since the earth could not sustain such a mass of water rushing from on high."²⁵ Paul, according to this writer, intended

²² Strom. 5, 80, p. 693. Comp. 2 Cor. 12, 2, 4.

²³ Ad Autol. 2, 24, Justin. *Opp.* p. 366. B. C. D.

²⁴ Ad Autol. 2, 26, p. 367. D. E.

²⁵ The extract is to be found in Epiphanius *Hæres.* 64, 47, *Opp.* 1, p. 572. B. C.

two distinct places when he spoke of being seized into the third heaven and into Paradise. The whole passage of Methodius was intended as an answer to Origen.

Tertullian, in one work, as already seen, placed Paradise in heaven. In his *Apology*, addressed to the Heathens, he borrowed its locality from their Elysian Fields. These, at a time when the shores of the Atlantic were an almost unknown region, had been placed by poetic fancy or by popular belief on its distant borders, or on the islands which it embosomed. Tertullian selected a spot equally untravelled by human foot for Paradise. He placed it south of the torrid zone, which he treated as "a garden wall" to separate it "from the knowledge of the common world."²⁶ Perhaps this southern locality was suggested to him by the expression of Flaccus (see Appendix, Note F, foot-note 5), *ubi sol*, 'where the sun is.'

He had no thought, however, of permitting the inference that he was borrowing from Heathens, but informs them that their idea of the Elysian Fields, with all their other approximations to truth, came to them from the 'Divine Literature.'²⁷

5. *Statements less precisely worded.*

Irenæus says that "God planted Paradise in Eden towards the east";²⁸ not on this earth, as it would seem; for Adam was "ejected thence into this world."²⁹ In his opinion, taken, as he informs us, from the **Presbyters**,³⁰ that is, from some of the earlier Christians, it was one of three places, — Heaven, Paradise, and the Holy City, — to which, after the renovation of this world, men shall be distributed accordingly as they shall have borne fruit one hundred, sixty, or thirty fold. It was to Paradise, according to Presbyters,³¹ disciples of the Apostles, that the translated (Enoch and Elijah) had been taken.

²⁶ *Apolog.* c. 47, *Opp.* p. 42. B.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 41. B.

²⁸ *Cont. Hæres.* 5, 5, 1.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Cont. Hæres.* 5, 36, 1; and Routh, *Reliq. Sac.* Vol. 1, p. 10.

³¹ *Cont. Hæres.* 5, 5, 1; and Routh, *Reliq. Sac.* Vol. 1, p. 58. (N. B. The Index refers to p. 55.)

Tatian, speaking of the demons, or fallen angels, and men, says that the former were cast down from heaven, but men were expelled (ἐξωρίσθησαν) “from the earth, not from this, but from a better and more finished one.”³²

The author of the **Discussion between Archelaus and Manes** says of Adam and Eve, “They whom (the Devil) deceived by the promise of their becoming Gods were afterwards cast out of Paradise.”³³ The writer probably regarded Paradise as in heaven, the proper place for Adam and Eve, had they actually been what the Devil promised.

A **Manichæan** is represented in the same work as explaining Paradise to be the World, and the tree of life to be the knowledge of Jesus which is in the world;³⁴ an allegorical interpretation which is also advanced by Clement of Alexandria,³⁵ and which in the latter writer does not exclude the belief of a special locality called Paradise.

According to Epiphanius, “**Hierax** did not believe Paradise to be perceptible to the physical senses, αἰσθητόν, which was also a folly of Origen.”³⁶

The **Clementine Homilies** twice mention Paradise as the original residence of Adam, without remark as to its locality.³⁷

I have found no mention of it in the undoubted writings of Justin Martyr, nor in those of Athenagoras, Hermias, Arnobius, Minucius Felix, Commodianus, nor in the fragments collected by Routh, save the two citations of Presbyters by Irenæus which are above given, and the quotations from the Discussion of Archelaus and Manes.

6. *Additional Remarks.*

PARADISE IN HEAVEN is at the present day regarded as the intermediate abode of the righteous until

³² Cont. Græc. Orat. c. 20, *Justin's Opp.* p. 261. D.

³³ Routh, *Reliq. Sac.* Vol. 5, p. 124.

³⁴ C. 10, Routh, *Reliq. Sac.* Vol. 5, p. 62.

³⁵ Strom. 5, 11, pp. 689, 690.

³⁶ Adv. Hæres. 67, 2, *Opp.* 1, p. 711. B.

³⁷ Hom. 3, 39, 16, 6.

the resurrection.³⁸ If any trace of this view can be found in the second and third centuries, it must be by inference, and that a very uncertain one, from the writings either of Tertullian or Cyprian. The Gnostics and such of the Catholic Christians as agreed with them in sending departed souls immediately to heaven, had no idea of ever bringing them down again to be united to their bodies. On the other hand, that party among the Catholics who defended a physical and general resurrection, — for the two seem to have gone together, — condemned as a grievous heresy the belief of the soul's direct ascent to heaven, which they regarded as overthrowing the resurrection. They seem to have thought that, if the soul once reached heaven and bliss, there was little likelihood of getting it back to earth. Tertullian would almost appear to have gone a step further, and to have concluded that, if people were hereafter to be raised OUT OF the earth, the only method of securing this desirable end was by keeping them UNDER it until the appointed time.³⁹

Cyprian sends the righteous at death to Paradise in heaven, but apparently with the intention that they should remain there permanently. If he twice alludes to a general resurrection, he nowhere connects it with the former idea. It was no doubt an inconsistency natural to one who was in a state of transition from the theology of his master, Tertullian, to that of the opposite school.⁴⁰

Tertullian twice concedes, not to the righteous, but to

³⁸ In the **Assembly's Larger Catechism** the Saviour's words to the penitent thief, "*To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise,*" are quoted in proof that righteous souls at death enter upon "communion with Christ in glory" (answer to Question 85, and note appended thereto), which is explained by the answer to the next question to mean, that they are "received into the highest (?) heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies." And in the answer to the succeeding question it is stated "that at the last day . . . the selfsame bodies of the dead which were laid in the grave, being then united to their souls forever, shall be raised up by the power of Christ."

³⁹ See the 5th division of § XXII.

⁴⁰ See his views in Note E of the Appendix.

Martyrs only, an immediate transfer out of this life into Paradise. In one of these instances, and perhaps in the other, he intends Paradise in heaven. "No one," he says, "on leaving the body, dwells immediately with the Lord, UNLESS he who by the prerogative of martyrdom shall go to Paradise instead of to the Underworld."⁴¹ And again, after identifying Paradise with the region under the altar,⁴² "where NO OTHER souls were shown to John save those of the Martyrs," he adds, "The only key of Paradise is your blood."⁴³ He lived in times of persecution, when it was necessary to cheer men on to torture and death by better promises than that of an imprisonment in the Underworld. The Martyrs were already a kind of demigods, whose hopes of an immediate reward even HE dared not directly oppose. Both passages are, perhaps, unwilling concessions, which Tertullian would rather have withdrawn than developed. In the latter of them, and in close connection with what has been cited, he maintains that "heaven is open to NO ONE while the earth remains," and refers to a work no longer extant, which he had written concerning Paradise, in which, says he, "we laid it down, that EVERY soul is sequestered in the Underworld, until the day of the Lord."

TO PARADISE ON EARTH Origen sent righteous souls, not as to their intermediate abode until the resurrection, but as to the first step of that ladder which reached to God's throne. Tertullian also, in the passage wherein he places the earthly Paradise south of the torrid zone, treats it as "a place of divine pleasantness destined for receiving the spirits of the saints." Whether we

⁴¹ De Resurrect. Carnis, c. 43, *Opp.* p. 411. B. C.

⁴² Rev. 6, 9. I can offer conjecture only as to the cause of this identification. Tertullian, who speaks of the communion as an offering (*De Exhort. Cast.* c. 7, *Opp.* p. 668. D.), may have treated the communion-table as an altar. The early Christians prayed with their faces to the east, and may not improbably have placed their communion-table at that end of their house of worship. If by analogy Tertullian regarded God's altar as at the east, he may have reasoned that, since Paradise was in the east (Gen. 2, 8), it was the region under the altar.

⁴³ De Anima, c. 55, *Opp.* p. 353. C. D.

suppose that this was to take place before or after the resurrection, it is not easy to be harmonized with the general theology of its writer.

§ XXII. CHRISTIAN EXEMPTION FROM THE UNDERWORLD.

1. *General Statement.*

IN the second and third centuries, the Christians as a body deemed themselves exempt at death from the Underworld, and regarded this exemption as a privilege peculiarly their own. We have seen¹ that Tertullian, who alone and for a time defended an opposite view, represents his opponents as asking, "What difference is there, then, between Heathens and Christians, if [as on your supposition] the same prison awaits both?" And Hermas has been quoted² as saying, "Before a man receives the name of the Son of God, he is destined to Death; but when he receives that seal, he is liberated from Death and delivered over to Life." Nor can the connection leave any doubt that subjection to, and exemption from, the Underworld were included in his use of the terms 'death' and 'life.' Prior to Christ, all who died — all mankind save Enoch and Elijah — had, in the opinion of Christians, gone thither. Since Christ, none but themselves escaped it.

Of these two statements, the former is sufficiently implied in the discussion with Marcion, and in the consequent one among Catholics. A limitation of it will be found in the exception made by some of Origen's opponents under § X. in favor of Samuel and of God's especial favorites; and also in the Ascension of Isaiah, whose author makes the pseudo-Prophet see all the saints since Adam in the seventh heaven.³

¹ § XX.

² See § XIII.

³ Ch. 9, 7, 8. With which compare the belief of Micah and others

Such other limitations as the statements require will appear in the fifth and sixth divisions of this section, save such as may be called for by the Manichæans. Verbally it would be true, that they also regarded Jews and Gentiles as doomed to the Underworld, the region of Death, and Christians as exempt therefrom. But with them there were only two localities, corresponding to heaven and hell; and though the term Hades (the Underworld) was undoubtedly interpreted by them of, though it was *one* of their terms for, the latter place, yet any ideas which might associate it closely with the common conceptions of an Underworld seem to glimmer through or to be buried under such a predominance of other conceptions, that it might mislead rather than illustrate their system, were the prominence of a separate head assigned it.

To avoid the need of repetition, I begin with the Marcionite Gnostics.

2. *The Marcionites.*

Tertullian, after giving his interpretation of the parable concerning the rich man and Lazarus, says: "But Marcion forces a different interpretation. He maintains, namely, that either place of reward under the Creator, whether of torment or of refreshment, is located in the Underworld for subjects of the Law and the Prophets; but he explains the CELESTIAL gate and bosom, of Christ and his God."⁴

Justin Martyr, including the Marcionites unquestionably, if indeed he do not refer exclusively to them, tells Trypho the Jew, "If you meet with some who are called Christians, who do not believe this [the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the millennium], but dare to calumniate the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and who say that

(c. 2, 9), "in the heavenly ascent of the faithful." On the other hand, in the same chapter (9, 17) "many of the saints" are represented as to ascend hereafter with Jesus from the Underworld, so that it is not easy to say in how far such an inconsistent writer is to be regarded as an exception to the common opinion.

⁴ Adv. Marcion. 4, 34, *Opp.* p. 559. C.

there is no resurrection of the dead, but that AT DEATH THEIR SOULS ARE RECEIVED UP INTO HEAVEN, do not regard them as Christians.”⁵

3. *Liberalist or Heterodox Catholics.*

According to **Origen**, “We who have come at the close of the ages have an advantage. What is it? If we depart in virtue and goodness, not taking with us the burdens of sin, we also shall pass the flaming sword [at the gate of Paradise] and shall not descend into the regions where those awaited Christ who fell asleep before his coming.”⁶

That **Clement of Alexandria** deemed exemption from the Underworld a necessary consequent upon Christian belief, and attainable through it alone, would seem evident from his course of argument in § III. 2.

The Heathens may sometimes have been indignant that the Christians should maintain this exemption as peculiarly theirs. If so, it may have given occasion to the following passage, which, however, is intelligible without such a supposition. “How,” says **Arnobius**, “do we hurt you, or what injury do we either do to, or invoke upon you, by believing that the Omnipotent God will watch over us when we are about departing from our bodies, and, to use a common expression, will ‘VINDICATE’⁷ us from the jaws of Orcus (the Underworld)?”⁸ Elsewhere

⁵ Dial. c. 80, *Opp.* p. 178. A. The passage will be given more at length in the Appendix, Note E.

⁶ In Lib. Regum Homil. 2, *Opp.* 2, p. 498. B. C.

⁷ This term ‘vindicate’ is used by the author of the Discussion between Archelaus and Manes — see § XIV. ; also by Irenæus *cont. Hæres.* 4, 8, 2 (4, 19) — of the Liberation from Satan’s power which Christ wrought, and the Valentinians, who named some of their æons from ideas common among the Catholics, named one of them *Καρπιστής*, Carpistes, ‘The Vindicator’ (Iren. 1, 2, 4), a legal term, as it would appear, for one who vindicated the right of a slave to liberty.

⁸ Adv. Gentes, 2, 53. Compare the statement of **Arnobius**, 2, 4, that “Christ . . . had vindicated *imprudentiam*, the imprudence or inexperience of miserable mortals from the worst robbers”; meaning, perhaps, from the demons.

he has an exhortation in the following terms: "Let us commit ourselves to God, nor allow that our incredulity should outweigh his name and power, lest . . . our last day should surprise us, and we be found in the jaws of our enemy, Death,"⁹

Cyprian, speaking of the readiness wherewith we should contemplate the approach of death, says: "Let us embrace the day which assigns to each his abode, which, when we are taken thence (out of the world) and freed from earthly bonds, restores us to Paradise and the celestial kingdom."¹⁰ And again, in addressing a Heathen, he says: "While life continues, no repentance is late. . . . With death upon us, we can pass to immortality. This favor Christ imparts; . . . he opens the way of life; he leads us back to Paradise; he will lead us even to the celestial kingdoms,"¹¹

The probability is, that nearly all the Catholics who belonged to the present class believed a direct ascent of the soul to heaven on its leaving the body. **Tertullian**, in his work on the Soul, quotes **opponents**, — evidently Heterodox Catholics, since neither Marcionite nor Theosophic Gnostics held such a view, — who maintained that Christians at death are destined to "Paradise [in heaven as the connection implies], whither the Patriarchs and Prophets, the companions (*appendices*) of the Lord's resurrection, have already emigrated from the Underworld."¹² And **Irenæus**, after complaining that "**some** of those who are regarded as having been **correct in their belief**, overstep the order of promotion of the just, holding heretical views,"¹³ argues, from the interval of three days between Christ's death and resurrection, that we do not rise at death. Hence it is fair to infer that those Catholics of whom he complains did believe a resurrection or ascent of the soul at death. This latter, and to him heretical

⁹ Adv. Gentes, 2, 78.

¹⁰ De Mortalitate, 26, *Opp.* p. 166.

¹¹ Ad Demet. 25, 26, *Opp.* p. 196.

¹² De Anima, c. 55, *Opp.* p. 353. C.

¹³ Cont. Hæres. 5, 31, 1.

view, he connects with a denial of the fleshly resurrection.

Rejecting, as this class of Catholics did, a resurrection of the flesh, and therewith, as it would seem, the belief of a future and simultaneous or general resurrection, there was no generally acknowledged reason left for postponing the soul's ascent to heaven.

4. *Orthodox Catholics. — First Class.*

These deemed it heretical to permit the entrance of souls into heaven prior to the resurrection. On the other hand, had they consigned them at their exit from the body to the Underworld, the realm of death, they might have appeared to rob Christianity of its life-giving character. Perplexity or uncertainty as to whither souls should go at death is apparent in their language; nor does one of them state a distinct locality as an intermediate abode for the righteous.

Justin Martyr says, or makes the Jew his opponent say, without dissent from himself: "The souls of Practical Monotheists¹⁴ abide SOMEWHERE in a better country, and the unjust and wicked in a worse, awaiting the time of judgment."¹⁵

¹⁴ By Semisch (in his work on Justin, Vol. 2, p. 464), and by others, Justin is regarded as believing the intermediate state of Christian, as well as of other — the intermediate state of all — souls, to be in the Underworld, owing to the following passage, which has no apparent bearing on the subject. **Justin** (*Dial.* c. 99, p. 195. A.) speaks of those who put Christ to death, as "not thinking that he was the Messiah, but [as] supposing that they would be able to kill him, and that he would remain like a common man in the Underworld." Grant that they did think so; and grant, moreover, what, though true, the passage by no means implies, that Justin himself regarded common souls (that is, human souls in distinction from the Messiah's, which had something divine in it) as swallowed by the Underworld until the date of Christ's death. This was, with slight limitation, the belief of all Christians. But it has no bearing on his or their belief as to the intermediate state of their own souls, or as to the privileges which Christ's death had secured to them. Compare his views on this subject in § IX. and in Note B of the Appendix.

¹⁵ *Dial.* c. 5, *Opp.* p. 107. D.

According to **Irenæus**, Christian "souls will go away to a place (or, an invisible place) allotted them by God."¹⁶ The connection in which this passage is found renders it additionally striking. Irenæus is arguing against Catholic Christians who are tinctured with heretical views. He starts from the position, that, if the soul rises at death, Jesus, instead of awaiting the third day for his resurrection, would have departed when he expired on the cross. He maintains, reiterates, and returns to the supposed fact, that the Saviour abode until his resurrection IN THE UNDERWORLD, that NO DISCIPLE IS ABOVE HIS MASTER, and hence, "It is manifest that the souls of his disciples also . . . will go—" Whither?—to the Underworld? This is what the logical sequence imperatively requires. But this is not the conclusion to which Irenæus comes. His words are, "The souls of his disciples, also, FOR WHOSE SAKE THE LORD DID THESE THINGS (*hæc operatus est*), will go to an invisible place allotted them by God, and will remain there till the resurrection."¹⁷ If Irenæus believed that Christian souls went to the Underworld, his ambiguity of language in the foregoing connection is inexplicable, unless, indeed, on the supposition that his view was unpopular, and that he feared to state it. It is more likely, however, that, as the Saviour "did these things on account of his disciples," Irenæus was willing to send them to a somewhat better place than their master, not perceiving, or at least not acknowledging, that he thereby destroyed his whole previous argument. In fact, that he did not send them to the Underworld is implied in the extracts from his writings under §§ XVI. and XVIII., in one of which extracts

¹⁶ Cont. Hæres. 5, 31, 2.

¹⁷ Cont. Hæres. 5, 31, 2. The passage in the text is from the old Latin translation of Irenæus. According to the Greek, as found in Damascenus, "Souls go to the place allotted by God, and there abide till the resurrection." I am uncertain whether the whole difference arises from Damascenus having abridged Irenæus, or whether the word 'invisible' was added by the translator, that he might give a greater appearance of logic to the passage, by rendering the place of their abode more similar to Hades.

he assumes that the children of Adam had been rescued from Satan, and makes it the basis of his proof that Adam himself had been rescued. The rescue of Adam must have been from Satan in his character of Lord over the Underworld, so that the assumed premise implies the same for his children.

The epistle ascribed to **Barnabas**, a production somewhat earlier than Irenæus, says: "There are two ways, . . . one of light and the other of darkness. . . . The way of light is this. If any one wishes to journey to the 'ALLOTTED PLACE,' he will be zealous in his works. . . . You will love your Maker, you will honor him who RANSOMED YOU FROM DEATH, . . . you will not be joined to those who walk in the way of Death."¹⁸ In both writers the Greek term for 'the allotted place,' τὸν ὀρισμένον τόπον, is the same. The way of light could hardly be regarded as leading into the Underworld, nor could he that had been ransomed from Death be looked upon, if faithful, as becoming his prey.

Polycarp, who, according to Eusebius,¹⁹ was the teacher of Irenæus, speaks of sundry individuals, — martyrs apparently, — and of Paul and the other Apostles, as being "in the place which was due them from the Lord (or, with the Lord, — ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ), with whom also they suffered."²⁰

There is a **Hortatory Address to the Greeks**, which by

¹⁸ Cc. 18, 19 (14, 3, 5, 6).

¹⁹ Hist. Ecc. 5, 5.

²⁰ Epistle to the Philippians, c. 9 (3, 8). The phraseology of Polycarp is slightly modified from that of **Clement of Rome**, a writer who lived before the Gnostic controversy, and who cannot well be classed with any of the Catholic parties that originated in that controversy. The difficulty of classifying him induces me to place him in this note. Alluding to the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul, he speaks of the former as having gone "to the place of GLORY which was due," εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον δόξης, and of the latter as having gone to "the holy place." — 1 *Epist. to Cor.* c. 5 (3, 12, 17). Polycarp omits the words 'of glory,' possibly because going to glory at death was already, when he wrote, a heresy. The inference would be surer if παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ be an erroneous emendation of παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου to harmonize it with Clement.

some writers is attributed to Justin Martyr,²¹ and in it a passage occurs, which, though admitting difference of interpretation, seems to deserve a place here. The author represents to the Greeks, that "they will not be acting contrary to the inclinations of their ancestors, by now turning away from the errors which these held, since it is probable that those ancestors are at present groaning in the Underworld, repenting a too late repentance, to whom if it were possible from that place to show you what has happened to them since the close of life, you would know from what evils they desire to free you."²²

Hermas regards Christian baptism as exempting men from the Underworld, and transferring them to the 'Kingdom of God,' or to 'Life,' but without definite explanation as to the meaning of these terms.²³

In Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus I have found nothing appropriate to this section. The first of these was a disciple of Justin Martyr, and when he wrote his work against the Greeks was Orthodox. Afterwards he became a Gnostic.

5. *Orthodox Catholics. — Second Class.*

Under this division, which is intended to embrace such as consigned Christians to the Underworld, I can adduce but one known writer and (see Appendix, Note F) one fragment of uncertain authorship; yet, as the reasoning of the former was more logical than that of some in the first class, it is not impossible that he may have found

²¹ The reader will find Bishop Kaye's reasons for not regarding Justin as its author in his work on that Father, entitled, "Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr, by John Bishop of Lincoln." — Pp. 5-11. This work, though less copious than that of Semisch on the same Father, is more reliable in its statements. Otto's *Commentatio de Justini Martyris Scriptis et Doctrina*, is in some respects preferable to either of the foregoing. An American edition of Bishop Kaye's three works on Justin, Clement, and Tertullian would be a boon to American students of ecclesiastical history.

²² *Cohortat. ad Græcos*, c. 35, *Justini Opp.* p. 32. B. C.

²³ See § XIII.

persons to accept it, and I therefore classify him by himself.

Tertullian²⁴ loved controversial victory too well to shrink from the sequence of his argument, though it landed himself in the Underworld; and he was too rugged to appreciate the fastidiousness which could desire better quarters than its Master. He copies the argument of Irenæus, that Christ went to the Underworld before ascending to heaven, and then breaks out with hearty earnestness: "You must both believe that the Underworld is a subterranean region,²⁵ and keep at arm's-length those who proudly enough do not think the souls of the faithful meet subjects for the Underworld. Servants above their Lord, and disciples above their Master, they spurn the solace of an expected resurrection, if they are to await it in Abraham's bosom."²⁶

There was a difficulty, however, which Tertullian noticed in his confinement of all souls below. Christian exorcists sometimes wrung, as they thought, from an evil spirit, the confession that it was of human parentage. "Sometimes," says Tertullian, "it affirms itself a gladiator or beast-fighter, as on other occasions a god, caring for nothing save to exclude this doctrine of ours, and hinder the belief that all souls are compelled into the Underworld,

²⁴ To place Tertullian among the Catholics and Orthodox requires a word of explanation, for in the latter part of his life he was a Montanist. His Montanism, however, did not affect his position as regarded already existing divisions. Judged by these, he is properly classified. And, indeed, the use which later writers made of his writings would indicate the same position for him. In the present instance he is but following out the argument of Irenæus to its legitimate results. His view is ULTRA-Orthodoxy. To class him as a Montanist would create a need of explaining his position which is obviated by classing him as above. Neander, it may be remarked, places not only Tertullian, but Montanus and Montanism, under the head, not of Heresies, but of the Catholic Church.

²⁵ Irenæus, from whom Tertullian copies this, was arguing against the Valentinians, who, it will be remembered, deemed this world the Underworld.

²⁶ *De Anima*, c. 55, *Opp.* p. 353. B.

so as to disturb the belief of a judgment and resurrection.”²⁷

The connection of ideas in Tertullian’s mind appears to be this. The Judgment was a consequent upon the Resurrection. But people would not believe that the dead were yet to rise out of the ground, if they found that they had got out already.

As for the account of Samuel, the demon had, according to this writer, assumed his appearance. “Far be it from me,” says Tertullian, “to believe that the soul of any saint, to say nothing of a prophet, was brought out by a demon.”²⁸

“Therefore,” he represents his opponents as saying, “all souls are in the Underworld.” “Just so,” is his answer. “You may be willing or unwilling, [but] both punishments and refreshments are there; you have the rich man and Lazarus [as a proof of it].”²⁹

From this doom, however, Tertullian had to make an exception, as has already appeared,³⁰ — probably an unwilling one, — in favor of the Martyrs. And there is one passage in which he takes ground the reverse of the above. His fourth book against Marcion is an examination, in order, of the copy of Luke which the latter used, and of his interpretations. It would seem that Marcion took the parable concerning the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16, 19–31) as evidence that the Jewish Deity sent both good and bad to the Underworld. Tertullian answers: “The Underworld is one place, as I think, and Abraham’s bosom another; for it is said that there is a great gulf between those regions, such as prohibits passing from either side. Neither would the rich man have lifted up his eyes, and indeed from afar off,³¹ unless looking at

²⁷ De Anima, c. 57, p. 355. D.

²⁸ De Anima, c. 57, p. 356. A. Tertullian here uses like language to that of those who believed that Samuel *had never been* below. See on p. 44 their distrust of this narrative.

²⁹ De Anima, c. 58, p. 356. D.

³⁰ See § XXI. 6.

³¹ Origen’s second Homily on Kings was written, I suspect, while more

higher regions, . . . whence it is apparent to every sensible man who may have heard of the Elysian Fields, that there is a determined locality called Abraham's bosom, intended to receive the souls of his children, even of Gentile extraction. . . . That region, therefore, I call Abraham's bosom, which, though not a celestial one, is higher than the Underworld, and affords a temporary refreshment to the souls of the just until the consummation of things shall bring to pass the resurrection of all with its plenitude of reward."³²

Yet so far as lifting Abraham's bosom out of the Underworld is concerned, the idea was probably a momentary impulse of opposition to Marcion, for a few lines further on Tertullian replaces it there, treating Abraham's words — "*They have Moses and the Prophets, let them hear them*" — as spoken in the Underworld.³³

Tertullian was a man of vehement impulses; fonder of consistency in the argument under hand than of a general accordance in his views, and fonder of an apparent controversial victory than of any consistency whatever. Precise dates cannot be affixed to his various writings, and it is difficult to distinguish between gradual changes which his opinions may have undergone, and hasty expressions which he soon forgot.³⁴

6. *The Valentinians.*³⁵

Irenæus, in a passage concerning the Valentinians, and perhaps concerning other Theosophic Gnostics, part of

than one passage of Tertullian was fresh in his mind. He there argues that Abraham was (at the date of the occurrence) in the Underworld because the rich man saw him, "for though '*from afar off*,' yet he saw him." — *Opp.* 2, p. 498. A.

³² Adv. Marcion. 4, 34, *Opp.* p. 559. C.

³³ In De Idol. c. 13, and De Resurrect. c. 17, Abraham's bosom is placed by Tertullian in the Underworld.

³⁴ For further remarks on this division of the subject, see Appendix, Note F.

³⁵ The reader will please recur, for explanation of some of the terms used in this division, to § IV.

which has already been quoted, exclaims, "How shall not they be confounded who say that the Lower Regions (or Underworld, *Infros*) are this world of ours, and that their inner man, leaving the body here, ascends to the super-celestial place."³⁶

According to a passage of the *Doctrina Orientalis*, "He who is born of his mother is introduced into Death and the World; but he who is born again of Christ is transferred into life, into the Middle Space, Ogdoad [*Pleroma*?],^{36a} and they die indeed to the World, but live to God, that death may be done away by their dying, and corruption by their rising again."³⁷

³⁶ Cont. Hæres. 5, 31, 2.

^{36a} Cp. § IV. note 27.

³⁷ C. 80. Clem. *Opp.* p. 987. Another passage of the same document refers apparently to man's condition prior to Christianity. "According to the Valentinians," it says, "of the descendants of Adam, the Just, journeying through the creations (the realms of the Creator) were detained in 'The Place' [probably above the seventh heaven where the Creator dwelt, comp. c. 59], but others in the creation of darkness, in the left hand [i. e. in the earthly places or elements], having a perception of the fire" of Gehenna. — *Doct. Orient.* c. 37, p. 978. Gehenna appears to have been a chasm into which a stream of fire (cp. Book of Enoch, 14, 19, Dan. 7, 10) poured from under the throne of 'The Place,' but which had never become full. Possibly the time of its overflow may have been the period when a general conflagration was to be anticipated. Perhaps the 'three left-hand places' (*Doct. Orient.* c. 28) were the three elements (*Doct. Orient.* c. 48), earth, air, and water; fire (which some identified with spirit) not being reckoned as one. Tertullian, in giving the Valentinian view, — that the earthly and material were to perish, — adds a quotation as if used by them, "because all flesh is grass," and the soul [except that of the Spiritual] is mortal in their estimation, unless saved by faith." — *Adv. Valentin.* c. 32, p. 302. A. Under the term *flesh*, the Valentinians included the fleshly or material soul (*Doct. Orient.* c. 51), which they probably regarded as remaining in this world, and to be burnt up with it. The quotation from Is. 40, 6, "All flesh is grass," could readily be connected with Matt. 6, 30, "Which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven." In this fate they included the rational soul which turned to earthly things. According to the *Doctrina Orientalis*, "concerning these two the Saviour says that we should 'fear him who is able to destroy this soul and this psychical body in Gehenna.'" — C. 51, Clem. *Opp.* p. 981. Compare Matt. 10, 28.

Both these passages, it will be noticed, treat the transfer to the Middle Space as exemption after this life from the Underworld or from Death.

The former gives the Valentinian view of what should happen to themselves, the Spiritual, at death, but the latter appears at least to include the fate of the Catholics whom they regarded as Psychical or rational, and who were destined also to pass at death, as it would seem, into the Middle Space. That some of them held this view concerning the Catholics or Psychical is slightly strengthened, perhaps, by phraseology of Irenæus.³⁸

On the other hand, there is left to us an express statement of the *Doctrina Orientalis*, according to which "the rest of the Spiritual [is] in the Lord's, — [that is] the Eighth [or Middle Space] which is called the Lord's."³⁹ . . . But the other FAITHFUL souls [the souls of the Catholics who are saved by faith, and not by their spiritual nature] remain with the Creator. But at the consummation these also go up into the Middle Space. . . . Thence

³⁸ According to Irenæus, at the consummation — when Wisdom and the Spiritual, her children, should pass into the Pleroma — the Creator was to "PASS into the place of his mother, the Middle Space, and the souls of the Just should also REST in the Middle Space." — *Cont. Hæres.* 1, 7, 1. Tertullian, who seems to have copied his account in no small degree from Irenæus, attributes to them the opinion, that, at this consummation, "the souls of the Just, that is, ours [i. e. the souls of Catholics or Psychical], will be TRANSMITTED to the Creator in the receptacle of the Middle Space." — *Adv. Valentin.* c. 32, *Opp.* p. 302. A. The wording of Irenæus might give color to the supposition that they were there already.

³⁹ Ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀνάπαυσις ἐν κυριακῇ (ἐν ὀγδοάδι, ἡ κυριακὴ ὀνομάζεται). c. 63. The explanatory remark in a parenthesis is probably by a later than the original writer. The association of ideas belonging to the Greek cannot easily be transferred to English. The Sabbath or seventh day was the Creator's, the eighth day was the Lord's, and also, in Valentinian phraseology, the Sabbath or seventh heaven was the Creator's, and 'The Eighth,' meaning the eighth locality, for there were no more heavens, was a technical term for the Middle Space, which was also called ἡ κυριακὴ, 'the Lord's,' or 'the Dominical,' the common appellation (at least from the latter part of the second century onwards) of the Lord's day. ἀνάπαυσις means stopping-place, temporary rest.

the Spiritual, divesting themselves of their souls,⁴⁰ . . . enter within the boundary [of the Pleroma].”⁴¹

This being the case, if we take the narrowest Valentinian definition of the Underworld, as meaning the realm of the Cosmocrator or Devil, Christ's mission procured for the rational or psychical Christians an exemption therefrom, since by their ‘faith’ in Christ they were saved, and translated temporarily to the Creator's place of rest, and subsequently to the Middle Space.

If we so extend the meaning of their terms for the Underworld as to make it include the whole realm below twilight, the whole perishable creation of the Jewish Deity, then in this higher sense the Spiritual themselves had been exempted therefrom by Christ's mission to this Underworld, since he first translated them to the illumination and life of the Middle Space.

7. *The Clementine Homilies.*

The eccentric author of this religious fiction was not a Gnostic, for he regarded the Jewish and Christian dispensations as proceeding from the same source. He was scarcely a Catholic, for he regarded many passages of the Old Testament as proceeding from the Devil, who had been permitted to interpolate them as a means of discrim-

⁴⁰ According to the Valentinians, souls were not admitted into the Pleroma. Nothing but pure spirit entered there. They seem to have greatly troubled **Irenæus** by their use of the Apostle's words, “*Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.*” — *Cont. Hæres.* 5, 9, 1. Flesh and blood, they understood, as did many at least of the Catholics, to mean ‘body and soul.’ Whether, however, by the kingdom of God they understood the Pleroma, I am not certain. It would accord with their system to understand that an infusion of ‘spiritual seed’ into the rational soul — an infusion which, even before Christ's time, came from a higher source than the Creator — was requisite to save it from Death. It could not gain admission even to the Creator's rest without it. And this seems to have been precisely the view of Irenæus, except that he regarded this saving spirit as originating with the Creator, while the Valentinians deemed him incompetent to furnish it. See Irenæus, 5, 9, 1.

⁴¹ Or “the Boundary,” i. e. the Pleroma. *Doct. Orient. cc.* 63, 64.

inating between good and evil men, of whom the former would not believe anything bad concerning God, even if they found it written.⁴² The work is much of it in a dialogue form, the author's sentiments being put into the mouth of the Apostle Peter.

The Apostle, addressing a lonely Heathen mother who had thought of suicide, says that suicides meet with a worse punishment in the Underworld. She replies, "I wish I knew that souls really lived in the Underworld, and I should love, despite the punishment, to die, so that I might see, even for an hour, those that I long for. And Peter said, 'I would like to know what grieves you, woman. For if you will tell me this, . . . I will convince you that souls live in the Underworld.'"⁴³ A subsequent passage evinces that a better fate than this awaited the lovers of God. "Souls," it says, "if they leave the body, and are found to have a desire for him (God), are borne into his bosom; as in winter the undying vapors of the mountains, being drawn by the rays of the sun, are borne to him."⁴⁴ While we are elsewhere again informed that the wicked man goes to the Underworld.⁴⁵

⁴² Hom. 2, 38-3, 5, and elsewhere. Neander, who adopts the common view that the writer was an Ebionite, supposes that his object was "to compose a work that might serve to reconcile those opposite (Judaizing and Gnostic) views,—a work of an apologetic and conciliatory tendency,—a noticeable phenomenon in the ferment of that chaotic period."—*Church History*, Vol. 1, p. 353, Torrey's trans. The hair of a genuine Ebionite—a thoroughly Jewish Christian—would have been likely to stand on end while reading such 'conciliatory' language as that of this author.

⁴³ Hom. 12, 14; Cotel. Vol. 1, p. 711. Compare the confession attributed to Simon Magus, Hom. 2, 30; Cotel. Vol. 1, p. 635:

⁴⁴ Hom. 17, 10, p. 740.

⁴⁵ Hom. 2, 13, p. 631, in which passage, unless I am mistaken, *ἐνταῦθα* means in this life, *ἐκεῖ* in that, or the future life. Not referring necessarily to Hades.

§ XXIII. CHRIST'S UNDERWORLD MISSION THE CAUSE OF THE EXEMPTION.

It might well be that Christians were sometimes satisfied to believe their own exemption from the regions of gloom, without seeking a specific agency which effected it. Yet so far as the Christians of the second and third centuries have pointed out an agency, they have referred to Christ's Underworld Mission. **Tertullian** represents the **opponents** of his ultra-orthodoxy as exclaiming, "But Christ went to the Underworld for this very purpose, — that we might NOT go there."¹ And **Origen**, using the term 'salvation' so as to include, if not as identical with, exemption from, the Underworld, has already been quoted in a note on p. 24 as saying, that Christ "for the salvation of the world descended even to the Lower Regions." Nearly the whole history of the victory and ransom testifies to the prevalence of a similar belief.

There is, however, a separate question from the above, which suggests itself here: Can a belief in Christ's Underworld Mission have given rise to, or strengthened, the belief in this exemption of his followers? That it must have strengthened it would seem a moral certainty. Christians who attributed to the Saviour such effort and suffering for the purpose of rescuing THE DEPARTED from the Underworld could not readily have believed that he would leave his work half accomplished; that he would have overlooked THEMSELVES and permitted THEM to fall a prey to it and to their arch-enemy. A supposition, however, that the belief of this exemption grew out of the doctrine of Christ's mission below, though not unnatural, is scarcely probable. The belief of exemption may have originated in the two following ways: 1. From an idea that Christianity, as a life-giving religion, must exempt its followers from the realms of Death. 2. From a blending together by the Christians of two conceptions,

¹ De Anima, c. 55, p. 353. B.

one that they were God's children, the other, that the children of a divine being were exempt from the Underworld.²

§ XXIV. GENERAL REMARKS.

A GERMAN writer, Dr. Pott, whose dissertation on Christ's Descent to the Underworld¹ has a respectable place assigned it in references and quotations, thinks that all the various opinions on the subject prior to the fourth century were owing to interpretations of 1 Peter **3, 19**;² and Hagenbach, in his Doctrinal History, appears to imply that they originated in expositions of the New Testament and of Psalm **16**.³ Pearson, in his work on the Creed, says: "The ancients seem upon no other reason to have interpreted this place of St. Peter [1 Peter **3, 19**] in that manner, but because other apocryphal writings led them to that interpretation," and refers to the passage of Jere-

² Thus **Dionysius of Halicarnassus**, who may however have been influenced by Jewish views, represents the mother of Coriolanus as saying to her son, that if she can dissuade him from war against his native country, immortal (or divine) glory will be her lot after this life, "and if any place receive human souls when freed from their bodies, that dark and subterranean place in which the wicked (or evil demons, *κακοδαίμονας*) are said to dwell shall not receive mine, nor yet shall the Lethean plains, but that pure ether above, IN WHICH, ACCORDING TO REPORT, DWELL THE CHILDREN OF THE GODS, experiencing a blessed and happy life."—*Antiq. Rom.* **8**, 52, Vol. **3**, p. 1629, edit. Reiske. Compare also an extract from Irenæus in Note B of the Appendix to this essay.

¹ "D. J. Pott, Excursus III. De Descensu Jesu Christi ad Inferos"; in the "Novum Testamentum," edit. Koppianæ, Vol. **9**, pp. 281–340.

² *Ibid.* p. 291.

³ The passages to which he refers in his note are, Acts **2, 27, 31**; (Rom. **10, 6, 7, 8**;) Eph. **4, 9**; 1 Peter **3, 19, 20** (connected with Psalm **16, 10**). See his Dogmengeschichte (2d edit.), Vol. **1**, § 69. Whether by inclosing two of the passages in parentheses he intended to attribute less weight to them, I do not know.

miah,⁴ and that from the Shepherd of Hermas,⁵ as the ones which misled them,⁶ but without attempting to account for the origin of these passages.

The reasons assigned above seem insufficient. Of the passages adduced by Hagenbach, not more than two could be misinterpreted of a MISSION below, and not more than one — 1 Peter 3, 19, 20 — would be likely to suggest it. To this passage the less influence can be attributed, since its appearance of favoring heresy must have precluded it from being much used. According to it, Christ preached to the wicked, precisely the subject of outcry against Marcion. Unless my examination has deceived me, no Father of the second or third century quotes the passage save Origen, who was not afraid to save even the demons. Clement of Alexandria, as we have already seen, found himself in one instance⁷ on the point of quoting it, but retreated out of it. If the doctrine of Christ's mission to the dead existed, as Pearson suggests, in a spurious prediction of Jeremiah, this implies that it was previously held by a considerable number of Christians. Of events currently believed, a prediction might be forged. But a Christian forger would not have made Jeremiah predict that the Messiah WOULD do what no one believed that Jesus HAD done. Nor could Hermas have aided in diffusing such a view, since it is nowhere contained nor alluded to in his writings.

The reasons which originated the doctrine of the Underworld Mission, and caused it to strike such deep root, were probably the following: 1. A wish to solve the question of what Christ did in the interval between his death and resurrection. 2. The need of accounting for the life-giving power of Christianity, or of explaining the victory which Christ had won for his followers over Death. 3. The effort to discover a dignified object for his suffer-

⁴ See § VIII.

⁵ See close of § XIII.

⁶ Exposit. of the Creed, by J. Pearson, Article 5 (pp. 366, 367 New York and Philadelphia edit. 1844).

⁷ See § III. 2, and note 21 on p. 13.

ings. 4. The desire of finding in the Old Testament proof-texts against the Jews, which should imply his death. 5. The benevolent purpose of saving the departed without endangering a doctrine on which the early Christians found it convenient to lay great stress, namely, that no one could be saved without becoming a Christian.

The Ransom, when viewed as a redemption of man from the Prince or rulers of evil by the exercise of power, might be placed under the second of these reasons, as almost a synonyme for the victory. When viewed, however, as an indemnification to Satan, I doubt whether it were not rather a difficulty to the early Christians, than an idea likely to spread. They loved to represent Christianity as a triumphant religion, not as one whose author paid tribute to the powers of darkness. Some speculative minds may have been unable to find any other solution of the ransom (1 Peter 1, 18, 19) than such a tribute, but the mass would have preferred to leave it unexplained, rather than adopt such a view.

In determining the date at which the doctrine of Christ's mission below had already a deep hold on the popular mind, no little importance is to be attached to its reception by the Gnostics. According to Clement of Alexandria, "In the days of Hadrian [A. D. 117–138] arose the devisers of heresies, and continued till the age of the elder Antoninus [A. D. 138–161]. . . . Marcion, belonging to the same period as they [as Basilides and Valentinus, the earliest teachers of Alexandrine Gnosticism], became, as an old man, the companion of the later ones."⁸

Of these Gnostics, Marcion did not believe that Christ was in any sense a man, or that he had anything human about him. He was a purely divine being, who had neither suffered nor died, and there was not the slightest reason why such a being should go to the Underworld, unless he had a mission to call him thither. The con-

⁸ Strom. 7, 106, *Opp.* p. 898. The passage, so far as translated above, needs no correction of the text. A clause of the paragraph which immediately follows, concerning Simon Magus, has puzzled critics. For $\mu\epsilon\theta'$ $\delta\nu$, I would read $\mu\epsilon\theta'$ $\tilde{\omega}\nu$.

trovery of Marcion with the Catholics shows that the idea of a mission below was already established, and the mere question at issue between them was as to who accepted and were benefited by it. But it must have been VERY thoroughly established, one would think, in order to the reception of it by Marcion from his opponents, and the engrafting of it on his own system ; for since he did not use the Epistle of Peter, he could not have found it in any part of the New Testament which he used, and must have adopted it from the Catholics.

That the Valentinians must have needed ingenuity in remodelling the doctrine so as to fit it into their system is evident. And since the descent to the Underworld was according to their views a descent to this earth, and a mission to its inhabitants, there would seem to have been little reason why at the Saviour's resurrection (rising again) a second mission, a mission to the departed, should have been added, unless the Christian community out of which these men sprung had attached importance thereto.

It can scarcely be that, at the opening of the second century or the close of the first, the doctrine of Christ's Underworld Mission, so far at least as regards the preaching to and liberation of the departed, was not a widely spread and deeply seated opinion among Christians. The evidence of its general reception is far stronger than if it were a mere doctrine of the creed, for articles of the creed have in nearly every instance been opinions which were NOT generally received,⁹ and to which the stronger party therefore gave a place in their confessions of faith as a means of defining their position. On the essential features of the present doctrine the Catholics and Heretics were of one mind. It was a point too well settled to admit dispute.

⁹ The reason which, in the fourth century, caused the insertion into some of the public and individual confessions of faith of the clause, 'He descended into the Underworld,' appears to have been, that it was regarded as IMPLYING a tenet openly denied by the Apollinarians, namely, that Christ had a human soul. See King's History of the Apostles' Creed, pp. 243-268 (2d edit. Lond. 1703). For difficulties and perplexity occasioned by this clause in modern times, see Appendix, Note G.

A separate question from the foregoing might, however, be raised concerning the date to which we can trace back the belief in a redemption of the departed from Satan, Lord of the Lower Regions; that is, from the personified Death. The difficulty of determining positively the earliest date of such a view is partly owing to the twofold position of the Devil in Catholic theology, to his being both ruler of this and the lower world, so that a deliverance from his power might imply a liberation from him, either in one, or in the other, or in both capacities. Yet the Ransom, as it appears in Irenæus, must have been given to Satan as Lord of the Lower Realms. It was only in that capacity that he could have received the soul of Jesus; and as early as Irenæus, the redemption of the departed from his power must have been believed. I am myself inclined to think that it existed among the Eastern or Greek Christians at a much earlier day.¹⁰ The

¹⁰ There is a singular inaccuracy of statement concerning Satan's rule over the departed in several writers who assume, and are supposed to have, a knowledge of early Christian opinions. Semisch, after alluding to Justin's opinion that "all souls of the Old Testament Just and Prophets had fallen into the hands of spirits," speaks of it as "a conception which, save the accordance with it by Anastasius, Patriarch of Antioch, recurs perhaps in not a single other Father," and then quotes to the following effect, as a production of Anastasius,—who according to Dupin lived in the sixth century,—the Questions and Responses attributed to him, which according to Moreri and Dupin could not have been written before the eleventh century. Quest. 112. "All souls of saints and sinners were under the power of the Devil until Christ, descending into the Underworld, said to those in bonds, 'Go forth.'" — *Semisch's Justin*, Vol. 2, p. 465, note 3. There is certainly no scarcity of such statements in undoubted writings of well-known Fathers. Pott, though in a reasonable error as compared with the foregoing, makes a remarkable statement for one who was expressly treating of Christ's descent to the Underworld. "If," says he, "any one in these centuries (the second and third) maintains that Christ descended to the Underworld for the purpose of liberating men from the rule of Death (Satan), Hippolytus is doubtless the only one." The passage alluded to he quotes from a work, *De Antichristo*, of questioned authorship. It speaks of Christ as "preaching to the souls of the saints, conquering death by dying." — *De Anti-*

phraseology of Justin Martyr and of the Valentinians is more easy of explanation, if we suppose such a view to have been already current in or before that time, than on any other supposition; and Justin's phraseology is scarcely intelligible without it. Whether it prevailed as early and widely among Latin Christians may be doubted. Oriental conceptions of Satan would require some time in order to penetrate the Western World.

In the foregoing pages, no separate investigation is devoted to the Ebionite or Jewish Christians. A document called the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is the only relic attributed to a writer of this class, which from its size and nature would afford (if from a Christian hand) any hope of allusion to Christ's suffering. And it does contain two allusions to his descent and mission below.¹¹ But as I suppose the body of the work to be Jewish, not Christian; and one or both of these allusions to be the interpolations of a Catholic, I have not used it as proof of Ebionite opinions. There is, however, no reason to doubt that the Ebionites shared with the Catholics a belief in the Underworld Mission of their Master. They would equally with the latter, if not in a greater degree, have been exposed to the temptation of adopting it for the sake of enlarging their store of predictions from the Old Testament, concerning their Master's suffering.

christo, c. 26. See Pott's *Excursus de Desc. Jesu Christi ad Inferos*, in Koppe's *Testament*, Vol. 9, p. 291. Enough certainly of similar and stronger statements are to be found in the same period.

¹¹ "Now, therefore, know that the Lord will execute judgment upon the sons of men, when the rocks being rent . . . [and the Underworld despoiled at the suffering of the Most High] unbelieving men shall persevere in their iniquity." — 3 (Levi), 4, Grabe, *Spicileg.* Vol. 1, p. 160.

"But in your portion [of the promised land] shall be the temple of God, and it shall be glorious among you; and the twelve tribes shall be gathered there, and all nations [until the Most High shall send his salvation in the guardianship of his only begotten, . . . and coming up from the Underworld, he shall ascend into heaven . . .]." — 12 (Benjamin), 9, Grabe, *Spicileg.* Vol. 1, p. 250. The first and last of the clauses in brackets I suppose to be Christian interpolations.

§ XXV. GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPELS.

THOSE familiar with the theological questions of the past fifty years know that the Four Gospels now used among Christians have been seriously treated as not existing in their present form before the end of the second or beginning of the third century, and that not a few have leaned to this conclusion. These histories of Christ have been regarded either as fabricated about that period from previously existing documents of uncertain credit, or as selected by the judgment or prejudice of Christians, from a multitude of earlier or contemporary fabrications, or as being in their present shape the result of gradual accretions during the first and second centuries.

If the above views are correct, many would with justice think that little reliance could be placed on such documents.¹ But leaving out of sight the direct evidence to the contrary, which has frequently and in various ways been developed, there exists in the theology of the early Christians a mass of indirect and very convincing testimony, to overthrow any such positions, — testimony the less suspicious, because it is independent either of the veracity or the judgment of any or all of those who furnish it.

The Gospels — whether adopted earlier or later — were used by the early Christians as a history of their Master's life and teachings, and, viewed in this light, as the basis of their own faith. Now it requires but a moderate acquaintance with human nature to feel convinced that they would not fabricate documents **AS THE BASIS OF THEIR FAITH**, and yet leave their own faith out of them, or at least leave out those points in their faith which most in-

¹ A trustworthy compilation could of course be made from reliable documents in the second century, but that it should be adopted so widely and immediately by the Christians as to supersede the originals before the century closed, whilst no lip touching the compiler or the originals has reached us, would be impossible. .

terested them. Neither would they select AS THE BASIS OF THEIR FAITH documents in which their favorite opinions nowhere appear, and reject those which contained them, as must have been the case if our Gospels were selected from other productions of the second century. Nor, if such A BASIS OF FAITH grew by accretion, is it credible that not one alone, but successive hands, should have added thereto, and never have put their cherished peculiarities into it.

To suppose a somewhat parallel case, — certainly not a stronger one, — let us imagine that each division of Protestants had formed or selected for itself a basis of faith, in which none of its peculiarities could be found; that the Heidelberg and Westminster Catechisms, the Confession of Augsburg, or the Articles of Dordrecht and those of the Anglican Church, had offered no clue to the denominational tenets of their framers. Let us suppose that a BASIS OF MORALITY should for a century grow by accretion under the hands of pro- and anti-slavery parties, with no allusion to the subject of their dispute; or that amidst the controversies on the person of Christ or the vicarious atonement, the Gospels should have grown in a similar way, with no mention of these doctrines. Yet, unless my study of early history have deceived me, the aggregate improbability of all these suppositions does not exceed that of the idea, that the Gospels could grow by accretion during a century and a half of various and fierce conflicts between the Christians and their opponents, or among Christians themselves, with no allusion to their controversies, or to the opinions developed by them.

The argument from early Christian opinions may be divided into two branches. 1. From their belief concerning the history of Christ. 2. From their speculative views in theology, morality, and philosophy. 3. A third, and to some extent independent argument, might be based on their controversies.

As regarded the first of these, the opinions of Christians coincided to a degree that evinces the prevalence among them of a history or histories which, if not identical with our Gospels, corresponded essentially with them. But

there was one supposed fact in Christ's history not contained in our Gospels, nor do they profess to have found it in theirs, and that was the mission to the Underworld.

Now let the reader consider the extent to which their theological system, their 'scheme of salvation,' rested on this supposed fact, and ask himself whether, in a history of Christ formed by them, it would have been omitted.² They found abundant evidence, as they thought, that this mission had been predicted. But their histories of Christ, and, if they be supposed different, the histories which they have transmitted to us, afford no evidence that these pre-

² The Christian forgeries of the second and third centuries consisted of Pseudo-Jewish and Pseudo-Heathen, not, as has commonly been supposed, of Pseudo-Apostolic documents. The latter would have been useless in controversies with Jews and Heathens, and, unless forged in Paul's name, would have had no weight with the Marcionites. In five of these forgeries a BRIEF sketch of Christ's life is either historically narrated or prophetically foretold, and, brief though these sketches are, in each of them his life is closed by his mission to the Underworld. 1. The Ascension of Isaiah, a Pseudo-Jewish Prophecy, has been already quoted (pp. 53, 54). 2. As also the Pseudo-Thaddeus (p. 73), the name of which must not mislead the reader into supposing it to be a forgery of Apostolic authority. It is an integral part of the correspondence opened by King Abgarus with Christ, which was forged, not for the sake of creating documents in the names of Christ and Thaddeus, but in the name of Abgarus. The Christians wished to meet Heathen contempt for their religion by an instance of respect towards it from a Heathen monarch whose indirect testimony to the miracles was a main object of the forgery. 3. The Sibylline Oracles, a collection of Pseudo-Heathen Prophecies, represent that Christ "shall go to the house of Hades, announcing a resurrection to the dead," Book 1, lines 383, 384 (377, 378), p. 185, or "He shall come into Hades, announcing hope to all," Book 8, line 310, p. 743. For the date of these citations, see Appendix, Note H. 4. For the Acts of Pilate, a Pseudo-Heathen History of Christ; and 5. Pilate's Report; see Appendix, Note D. I ought perhaps to add, that I have not discovered a single instance in which any writer of the second or third century quotes the mission from any of these documents, or alludes to the fact that they mention it. The belief of this mission was far more widely and thoroughly established than the credit of these forgeries. Their testimony could not strengthen it.

dictions were ever fulfilled. In their Gospels and in ours, the interval between the Saviour's death and resurrection is a blank, and on this blank they built no small portion of their faith. The crucifixion and death of Jesus, offensive both to Jews and Gentiles, and calling for explanation by Christians, were narrated in their Gospels as in ours. But THE EXPLANATION OF THE OFFENSIVE FACTS WAS LEFT OUT. The Saviour, instead of ascending to heaven with a host of the departed, appears both in their Gospels and ours as remaining on earth with his disciples.

If the reader suppose that the Apostle Peter held and taught a ministry of his Master to the departed, then, though in a much weaker form, the foregoing argument would apply to the first century. It would then seem, that, though a distinguished Christian leader and Apostle had been willing to state such a view as his own, yet its absence from the Gospels bears evidence, in so far, that neither he nor any that accepted his view had tampered with the Master's history, or put their own views into his mouth.

Nor can the absence from the Gospels of any allusion to this ministry be accounted for by a difficulty of introducing it. When the Saviour foretold his sufferings, death, and resurrection, and the disciples "*understood none of these things*" (Luke 18, 34), it would have been easy to make him give the explanation thereof, that he had a mission to fulfil in the Underworld. And when he conversed with them after his resurrection, it would have been perfectly in place to put into his mouth a statement of what he had accomplished.³

But the argument does not stop here. In one of the Gospels we find a passage glaringly inconsistent with the mission to the Underworld, a passage noticed by the early

³ If the reading adopted by Gallæus and Opsopœus be correct, the author of one Sibylline fragment must have supposed the events below to be the subject of the Saviour's conversation with some of his disciples, perhaps with those whom he accompanied to Emmaus. "He shall come to light again in three days, and shall manifest [the events of] his sleep to mortals." — Book 1, lines 385, 386, p. 185.

Christians. Origen, after quoting the Saviour's words (Matt. 12, 40), "*The Son of Man shall be three days and nights in the heart of the earth,*" asks, "How could he be three days and nights in the heart of the earth, who at his departure was to be in the Paradise of God according to the statement (Luke 23, 43), '*To-day thou shalt be with me in the Paradise of God?*'?"⁴ And adds: "This expression has so troubled some by its appearance of incongruity, that they have ventured to suspect as an addition to the Gospel by interpolators, that passage, '*To-day thou shalt be with me in the Paradise of God.*' But we say that, according to the simple (or literal) interpretation, he perhaps, before going into the so-called '*heart of the earth,*' placed in the Paradise of God him who had said, '*Remember me when thou shalt come in thy kingdom.*' According, however, to the deeper (or spiritual) meaning, the phrase '*to-day*' in the Scripture extends to the whole even of the existing age."⁵

The suspicion of interpolation was based on the incompatibility of the passage with assumed facts, not upon its absence from manuscripts; nor does Origen—who had made textual criticism more a study than any contemporary Christian or Heathen, and who was in no wise indisposed to give the various readings which he had discovered—allude to it as wanting in a single manuscript.

But its disaccordance with existing theology had been perceived long before Origen's time. Marcion might have made much use of the Saviour's words to the penitent thief. Beset as he was on account of maintaining that souls went to heaven at death, there was no passage in

⁴ The words 'of God' are not in our present copies of Luke, nor were they probably in Origen's. Without having specially studied his citations, I have noticed that the New Testament passage which forms in any case the particular subject of his comment is quoted in close accordance with our present editions, and seems to have been cited with a manuscript open before him. His quotations from other portions of Scripture, for the purpose of illustrating the subject in hand, appear to be made from memory.

⁵ Comment. in Joannem, Tom. 32, 19, *Opp.* 4, p. 455. B. C.

his records or ours more apposite as an argument wherewith to support himself. Yet **Epiphanius** informs us, "He cut away the expression, '*To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.*'"⁶ The inference is a fair one, that the Under-world Mission outweighed in his mind any value which the passage possessed for him as a controversial argument.

The method of solving difficulties by erasures was peculiar to Marcion. Neither the Theosophic Gnostics nor Catholic Christians practised it. That the latter did not, receives no slight confirmation from the fact, that they retained and transmitted to us in their sacred records a passage which directly contradicted their own faith.

To attempt unfolding the second class of arguments already alluded to for the genuineness of the Gospels, deducible from the speculative views of the early Christians in theology, morality, and philosophy, and the third, from the controversies in which they were engaged, would be foreign to the purpose of this essay, and would require a volume, if not two, to do it justice. Arguments could be developed, some of them stronger than the preceding, or applicable to an earlier date, from, 1. The dissension between Jewish and Gentile Christians; 2. The controversy between Christians and Jews; 3. Between Christians and Gentiles; 4. Between Catholics and Gnostics; from, 5. The conception of the Supreme Deity as necessarily devoid of name; 6. Jesus as the special Deity of the Old Testament; 7. The Pseudo-Deities of the Heathens; 8. Idolatry ethically considered; 9. The use made of the Old Testament predictions; 10. The use made of Pseudo-Heathen Prophecies; 11. The division into Faithful and Catechumens; 12. The customs and views concerning the Lord's day; 13. And also concerning the Sabbath or Saturday; 14. The belief concerning Rome's destruction; 15. And the burning up of the world; 16. And Baptism; 17. And the Resurrection of the flesh; 18. And Martyrdom; 19. And Anti-Christ, and many other points.

⁶ Epiphan. adv. Hæres. 42, 11, 72, *Opp.* 1, p. 317 A. Compare p. 347 C. D.

I can conceive no class of arguments more likely than these to convince a sceptical Christian or a truth-loving unbeliever, that our Gospels did not owe their origin to the opinions or to the controversial wants of the early Christians. In fact, had they been intended for service in the controversies against Jews or Gentiles, they would have purported to come from Jewish or Gentile, not from Christian hands.⁷ And though the Apostle John was regarded by the Valentinians as one of the enlightened, yet the other three Evangelists were not well selected, if influence with these Gnostics was desired, nor would all four in the eyes of Marcion have been equal to Paul.

I do not say that the foregoing arguments, if developed, would convince unbelievers of the supernatural character of Christianity, since many of them find an inherent difficulty in such a belief; but their development would materially reduce the number of questions which want of familiarity with early Christian history has left open, and might in many instances remove the main reasons for distrusting the Gospel narrative. I am not, of course, to be understood as maintaining that no interpolations whatever exist in the Gospels.

§ XXVI. CHURCH AUTHORITY.

THE advocates of Church authority have been obliged to give up the position that individual Fathers were nearly or quite infallible, but they still regard unanimity of the

⁷ The Gospels might satisfy truth-loving inquirers, but against non-Christian opponents their Christian authorship precluded use of their testimony. A Heathen would inevitably have said: "You allege that Jesus performed miracles; give me impartial evidence of the fact, statements not by individuals of your own body, but by outsiders." This condition of things prompted the forgery, as mentioned in note 2, of Jewish and Heathen, but not of Christian testimony.

early Church — that is, of the Catholics — on a point of belief as settling its correctness,¹ and the multitude of Christians who yet hold this view should prevent it from being regarded — as sometimes happens — with contemptuous indifference. That a considerable portion of men should be trammelled by error, ought not to be a matter of indifference, nor does it seem a fit subject for contempt. Let us test their position. 1. If we have evidence that the Catholics of the second and third centuries believed any proposition unanimously, we have evidence that they believed the following: “Jesus Christ at his death went on a mission to the subterranean world.” 2. But the earth is now known to be a solid globe, revolving in space. 3. Their belief, therefore, of a subterranean world, and of the mission to it, was incorrect.

¹ One of the ablest and calmest of late Roman Catholic writers, **J. A. Moehler**, says in his *Symbolism*, “Whoever takes the pains to study the writings of the holy Fathers may without much penetration discover, that, while agreeing perfectly on all ecclesiastical (?) dogmas, they yet expatiate most variously on the doctrines of Christian faith and morality. . . . While now all Catholics gladly profess the same dogmas with the Fathers of the Church, the individual opinions, the mere human views of the latter, possess in their estimation no further value, but as they present reasonable grounds for acceptance, or as any peculiar affinity of mind may exist between one Father of the Church, and a Catholic of a subsequent age. . . . We will not and cannot believe otherwise than as our fathers have believed. But as to their [individual] peculiarities of opinion, we may adopt them or not as we please.” — Sect. 42, pp. 369–371.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

JESUS¹ THE SPECIAL DEITY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BESIDES the humanitarian division of the early Christians, which included such as were commonly called Jewish Christians, or Ebionites,² and a part — it is difficult to say precisely how large a part³ — of Gentile Christians, there was another

¹ On the date of his deification see *Indirect Testimony*, pp. 192, 199.

² By Jewish Christians are not usually meant such as originated from Alexandrine Judaism, but those who retained Judaism as it existed in Palestine, and who were strenuous for the ceremonial law. Touching these, however, it is but fair to say, that the statement in the text has been disputed. As its proof would require more space than appropriate here, I give simply my judgment concerning it.

³ Justin admits to Trypho, "There are some even of our race [that is, some Christians of Gentile extraction] who confess him (Jesus) to be the Messiah, but maintain that he was a human being of human parentage." — *Dial.* c. 48. Cp. *Judaism*, Ch. XI. note 57, and Note B, footnote 59.

Origen regards the multitude which followed Jesus from Jericho as emblematic of the Gentile multitude ascending with him from earthly things (to the heavenly Jerusalem); the blind man by the wayside as typifying the miserable relic of Judaism; and adds: "When you regard the faith, concerning the Saviour, of the Jews who believe on Jesus, some regarding him as the son of Joseph and Mary, others of Mary and the Holy Spirit, but without any belief in his divine nature, you will comprehend how this blind man says, '*Son of David, take pity on me,*' . . . and the multitude rebuked him . . . those from the Gentiles who, with few exceptions, have believed him to be born of a virgin, and rebuked the man that thought him born after the ordinary manner." — In *Matt. Tom.* 16, 12, *Opp.* 3, pp. 7 33. A., 734. A. Compare Origen, *Cont. Cels.* 5, 61; *Opp.* 1, p. 625 A. Origen does not say that the Gentile Christians with few exceptions believe Christ's divinity, and some expressions in his writings appear to imply the reverse. See Forrest's *History of the Trinity*, pp. 35–37 (Meadville edit., pp. 48–50; Bost. edit. pp. 36–39).

Tertullian says: "The simple, . . . who constitute THE LARGER PART OF BELIEVERS, . . . proclaim that two and ALREADY THREE gods are

class from the time of Justin Martyr, who maintained that Jesus was the Deity who had appeared to the Patriarchs and Prophets and had talked to Moses from the bush.⁴ They distinguished between the Supreme Deity, who was without a name,⁵ and Jesus, who had a name.

Justin tells the Gentiles, "All the Jews even now teach, that the God without a name spoke to Moses, . . . who (the Jews) having it expressly stated in the records of Moses, that '*the ANGEL OF GOD spoke to Moses in a burning flame from the bush, and said, I am he who exists, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob,*' maintain that it was the Father of all things and the Creator who said these things. Whence the prophetic spirit, reproving them, said, '*Israel did not know me, and The People did not understand me.*' And again Jesus, as we have already shown, said when among

preached by us, but assume that they are worshippers of the one God." — *Adv. Prax.* c. 3, *Opp.* p. 635. C. D.

⁴ In a previous edition the following surmise was appended to the above: "I am inclined to assign a somewhat earlier date than the age of Justin to this opinion, though my only reason for so doing is the strong suspicion that the Marcionite branch of Gnosticism was to a considerable extent but an offshoot from this identical view of the Catholics."

I am now convinced that Gnosticism was due to anti-Jewish feeling developed by the war under Hadrian. (See *Judaism*, Ch. XI. 1.) Justin's limited deification of Jesus in his *Dialogue* is but a revised version (see *Indirect Testimony*, pp. 190-192) of his earlier effort in his *Apology* to parry objections then urged against the Old Testament.

⁵ "No one can affix a name to the ineffable Deity. But if any one should dare to say that he has a name, such a man is crazy with an incurable madness." — Justin, *Apol.* 1, 61, p. 80. C. "The Father of all things, being unbegotten, has no name, for whoever is called by a name has an older [than himself] who gave him his name." — *Apol.* 2, 6, p. 92. C. See also *Apol.* 2, 12, 13, pp. 96. E., 97. E. "Do not seek the name of God. God is his name. Names are requisite when a multitude of individuals are to be distinguished by appropriate appellations. To God who is alone the name of God is everything." — Minuc. Felix, c. 18, pp. 89, 90. The same may be found in Cyprian, *De Idol. Van.* p. 15. "Gifts [or bribes] are not to be offered to the God who has no name." — Tatian, c. 4, p. 247. B. "The soul . . . names him God, using this name alone as appropriate to the true God." — Tertul. *Apol.* c. 17, p. 18. B. "The Seventh Heaven, where dwells He who is NOT NAMED [I follow the Latin translation of Laurence, which he made more literal than his English one] and his Elect, whose name has not [in Isaiah's time] been revealed." — *Ascension of Isaiah*, ch. 8, 7. Trismegistus, a Christian document attributed to Mercury, also treats the Supreme Being as without name. See Lactant. 1, 6; Paris edit. Vol. 1, col. 139, 140.

them, ‘*No one has known the Father except the Son (nor the Son except the Father), and those to whom the Son shall reveal him.*’”⁶

And in his Dialogue with Trypho he alleges, that “in the book of Exodus Moses mystically proclaims and we comprehend that Jesus was the name of that God whose name, the Scripture says, was not communicated to Abraham nor to Jacob. It is stated thus: ‘*The Lord said to Moses, Say to this People, Lo, I send my messenger before thee, that he may guard thee in the way; that he may lead thee into the land which I have prepared for thee. Attend to him, . . . for MY NAME IS UPON HIM.*’ Who therefore led your fathers into the land? You clearly know that it was he who is called by this name Jesus (Joshua⁷). . . . But since (εἰ) you know this, you will recognize also that Jesus was the name of him who said to Moses, ‘*My name shall be upon him.*’ . . . He was also called Israel.”⁸

The object of this note is simply to enable the reader to apprehend easily the foregoing idea, and I therefore omit extracts from other Fathers, of which a multitude to the same purport could be adduced. The reader will find some of them in Mr. Norton’s *Genuineness of the Gospels*, Vol. 2, pp. 247–253 (2d edit. pp. 250–256; abridged edit. pp. 300–304).

It may be added, that, though a PERSONAL APPEARANCE of the pre-existent Logos TO THE GENTILES was maintained by none, yet, in opposition to the Gentile claim of superior antiquity for Heathenism, Justin affirms that Socrates and other philosophers participated in, and lived according to, the Logos,⁹ so that, according to this view, anything good in Heathen philosophy was not prior to Christianity, but a part of it, being derived from Christ. Justin, in support of this idea, and to save the superior antiquity of Christianity, claims these men as Christians.¹⁰ Clement of Alexandria, from a more generous motive, takes the same ground concerning the origin of Greek Philosophy.¹¹

⁶ Apol. 1, 63, p. 81. A. C. D.

⁷ Jesus and Joshua are the same name in the Greek.

⁸ Dialog. c. 75, p. 172. B. C.

⁹ Apol. 1, 46; 2, 10, *Opp.* pp. 71. B., 95. D.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ See *Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria*, by John [Kaye], Bishop of Lincoln, pp. 190–193, 202, 203.

NOTE B.¹

MORTALITY AND IMMORTALITY. — LIFE AND DEATH.

THE Fathers used the terms Life and Death as antitheses of each other, and employed the latter as do moderns to designate the separation of the soul from the body, or to express a morally lost condition, or as an appellation of Satan.² Some of the Catholics and Heretics believed an Annihilation of the wicked or earthly. How far they designated this by the term Death I do not know. Aside from these meanings, the term Death, in the period covered by this essay, designated a residence in or consignment to the Underworld, as must already be evident, and Life, its antithesis, an exemption therefrom. The former seems to have been regarded as the lot of Human Nature or Mortality, the latter of Divine or Immortal Natures.

In order, however, to understand some of the early Christian theology on this point, it must be remembered that a distinction was frequently made by the ancients between Soul and Spirit. The latter was the essence of immortal beings, the former was human.³ Whether Adam were originally im-

From the former of these references the following citation of Clement is made: "Who, then, was their teacher? (i. e. the teacher of the Greeks). The First Begotten, the Counsellor of God, who foreknew all things. He is the teacher of all created beings; he in various ways from the foundation of the world has instructed man, and leads him to perfection." And from the latter the following: "Philosophy may be reasonably supposed to have been given by Divine Providence as a preparation for perfection through Christ. . . . They who deny that Philosophy comes from God, go near to question his particular Providence. . . . They who affirm that Philosophy was given by the Devil, make him more benevolent than Divine Providence to good men among the Greeks. . . . The Law was given to the Jews, Philosophy to the Greeks, until the advent of Christ."

¹ Referred to on pp. 15, 32, 54, 56, 69, 71, 88, 96, 116, 128.

² See extract from Origen in § XIV. note 6.

³ This distinction existed independently of any idea of personal character as expressed by the term *spiritual*. Thus, in the Book of Enoch the Deity is represented as saying to the fallen Angels, "You from the beginning were made spiritual, possessing a life which is eternal, and not subject to death forever; . . . being spiritual, your dwelling is in heaven" (ch. 15, 6, 7); and as adding concerning the Giants, the offspring of these angels and of their earthly brides, "Now, the Giants who have been born of Spirit and of Flesh shall be called upon earth

mortal, and became human through his fall; or whether he were created neither immortal nor human, but capable of becoming either;⁴ or whether he were human at his creation;—yet in any case as a human being he could not become, according to the views of some among the Fathers, a denizen of heaven. His doom as a mortal was the Underworld.

Thus, in passages already cited, Hermas informs us that the departed who were in the Underworld “could not otherwise enter the kingdom of God, than by laying aside the mortality of their former life.”⁵ Arnobius speaks of the departed whom Christ aided, as having laid aside the “lot of Mortality”;⁶ which, by a comparison with the extract from his writings in § XXII. 3, would seem to mean that they had been rescued “from the jaws of Orcus.” Tertullian treats Christ as having, “BECAUSE HE WAS A MAN, . . . gone through the form of human death in the Underworld.”⁷ And Origen, we have seen, treated the detention of the departed in the Underworld as the “condition affixed [before Christ’s time] to dying.”⁸

If HUMAN nature was necessarily the prey of the Underworld, it was no unnatural conception that this nature must be changed, that it must become immortal or divine before

Evil Spirits. . . . Evil SPIRITS shall proceed from their flesh [i. e. spirits, not souls, shall be disengaged from their bodies at death], because they were created from above.”—Ch. 15, 8.

The distinction between soul and spirit appears, perhaps, in the phraseology of the Apocalypse, which mentions (6, 9) “*the souls of them that were slain*,” and again (20, 4), “*the souls of them that were beheaded*”; but (1, 4) “*the seven SPIRITS*” before God’s throne; an expression similar to which occurs in 3, 1, 4, 5, 5, 6. See also, in note 8 on p. 88, Origen’s query as to God and the angels having souls.

⁴ **Theophilus** advances this view: “But some one will say to us, ‘Was man naturally mortal?’ By no means. ‘What then; immortal?’ No. But some one will say, ‘Was he nothing at all?’ I do not say that. He was neither mortal nor immortal by nature. For if he had originally been made immortal, he would have been made a god; but if mortal, God would seem to be the cause of his death. He was made therefore neither immortal nor mortal, but, as we said above, capable of becoming either. . . . Observing the command of God, he would receive immortality as a reward and become a god; but if he should turn to the works of death, being disobedient to God, he would be the cause of his own death.”—*Ad Autol.* 2, 27, Justin, *Opp.* p. 368. A. B.

⁵ See p. 56.

⁶ See p. 32.

⁷ See note on pp. 30, 31.

⁸ See p. 62.

entering heaven. This conception was actually entertained, and the method of creating this change was, according to some, the infusion into human nature of Christ's divine or spiritual nature.

Irenæus says: "Those who deem Christ the son of Joseph, . . . not being [according to their own principles] commingled with the Logos of God the Father, . . . are debtors of [or due to] Death, . . . to whom the Logos speaks, narrating his own office of kindness, '*I said, Ye are all gods and sons of the Most High* [if ye will accept my gift], *but ye die like men.*' He says these things to such as do not accept the gift of adoption (or sonship), . . . DEPRIVING MAN OF THE ASCENT TO GOD,⁹ . . . for to this purpose the Logos became man, that man, by being commingled with the Logos, and receiving the adoption, should become a Son of God. For we could not otherwise receive incorruptibility and immortality than by being united to incorruptibility and immortality."¹⁰

Elsewhere he asks, "How could man pass (or be changed) into [a] god, unless God passed into man?"¹¹

Elsewhere, again, Irenæus quotes from Ps. 50, 1, "*The God of gods, the Lord spoke,*" and after asking, "But of what gods?" answers, "Of those to whom he says, '*I said ye are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High*'; that is, of those who have received the favor '*of adoption through which we cry, Abba, Father.*'"¹²

A fragment preserved under the name of Justin Martyr, but the authorship of which is doubtful, states that, "When God originally formed man, he made his nature dependent on his own choice, determining the experiment by a single command. For he made him, in case he observed this command, the recipient of an immortal lot, but if he transgressed it, of the reverse. Man being thus formed, and turning his face immediately towards transgression, received corruptibility into his nature. But corruptibility being in our nature, it was necessary that he who wished to save us should cause this substance to disappear, which occasioned corruption. But this could not otherwise take place unless that which by its nature was life (i. e. possessed of an inherent incorruptibility

⁹ On the connection between Sonship of God and ascent to heaven, compare page 128.

¹⁰ Cont. Hæres. 3, 19, 1 (3, 21). Compare 4, 38, 4 (4, 75).

¹¹ Cont. Hæres. 4, 33, 4 (4, 59).

¹² Cont. Hæres. 3, 6, 1 (3, 6).

or immortality) should be united to that which had received into itself corruptibility, thus causing the corruptibility to disappear, and preserving as immortal thereafter that which had received it. On this account it was necessary for the Logos to come in a body, that he might free us from the corruptibility of death in our nature."¹³

The idea of Irenæus and of the foregoing writer appears to be, that a divine or spiritual and immortal nature must first be mingled with a human one, and we then, by becoming participants of this double nature, participate in the divine nature which it contains. An inherently immortal substance is thus mingled with our perishable souls.

Among various reasons which create doubt as to Justin having written the above fragment, is the different view which he advances in his Dialogue with Trypho. He there quotes at some length from the eighty-second Psalm, "*I have said ye are gods,*" etc., and states that his object is to show "that the Holy Spirit reproaches men, that being made, like God, IMPASSIBLE AND IMMORTAL, PROVIDED THEY OBSERVE HIS COMMANDMENTS, and being honored by him in that he calls them his Sons, even these likewise, being assimilated to Adam and Eve, WORK OUT DEATH to themselves. Let the interpretation of the Psalm be as you wish, and it is nevertheless manifest that they were honorably destined to be gods, and to the ability of becoming Sons of the Most High, and of their own choice they prefer to be judged and condemned as were Adam and Eve."¹⁴ These remarks follow a statement that the Jews were somewhat disturbed at hearing Justin claim that "we are the true children of God, who observe the commands of Christ."¹⁵

According to this, Adam's descendants were, equally with himself, born immortal, and destined to remain so if they observed God's commands. An examination of Justin's views in § IX., including note 12 on p. 42, will render it probable that Justin deemed the Mosaic Law an insufficient means of righteousness, and that the power of Christianity alone enabled a man to be so observant of God's commands as that he could escape death. By death in the above extract, as in that from Justin under § IX., it seems difficult to understand anything save subjection to the Underworld or its ruler.

¹³ Justini Opera, pp. 597, 598.

¹⁴ Dialog. c. 124, pp. 217. E., 218. A.

¹⁵ Dialog. c. 123, p. 217. B.

I suspect that the capacity of communicating immortality was one sense—though, unless the Latin translator have added his own explanation, it was not the only sense—intended by the author of the Adumbrations on Peter as an attribute of God's Word or Logos. He quotes ch. 1, 23, "*Regenerated, not with corruptible SEED,*" and says: "The soul, therefore, which is poured out at the same time with [the destruction of] the body, is, as some think, corruptible (1, 25), *'but the word of the Lord (the Logos or Life-giving spirit) endures forever.'*"¹⁶

The Valentinians based their theory of salvation on the distinction of soul and spirit. According to them, only the Spiritual, and such from among the Psychical (Men of Soul) as were fitted to receive a seed of the Spirit into them, were saved.

NOTE C.

HEAVENS.

MENTION has been made in the foregoing pages of Marcion, as holding to a system of three heavens, while others believed in seven. Suidas, as quoted by Suicer, says: "There are two heavens, that which was created at the same time with the earth (Gen. 1, 1), and the one which was subsequently appointed as a means of separating the waters (Gen. 1, 6), which (God) also called the firmament."¹

The Ascension of Isaiah, though recognizing seven heavens,² makes in some places the same distinction as above, between the firmament and the (first) heaven,³ though it elsewhere confounds them.⁴

¹⁶ Clementis, *Opp.* p. 1006, lines 26–30. This idea of the soul, we are told in the *Philosophumena*, or *Refutatio Omnium Hæresium*, was entertained by Epicurus. He is there represented as holding that "the souls of men perish at the same time with their bodies, in like manner as they are born with them, . . . for they are blood."—1, 22, p. 28, Miller's edition.

¹ Suicer on *Ὀὐρανός*, 2, D. 2, Vol. 2, p. 523.

² The system of seven heavens appears in the *Testamenta XII. Patriarch. Levi* 3; Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraph. Vet. Testamenti*, 1, pp. 546–548.

³ Ch. 7, 9, 13; 10, 27, 29.

⁴ Ch. 11, 23, 25.

A passage from Theodoret, also quoted in Suicer, says: "He who disbelieves a second heaven goes out of the right way, and he who endeavors to number more follows fables, despising the teaching of the Divine Spirit."⁵

Marcion may have assumed the two heavens as the highest number mentioned in the Old Testament, and have rested in the idea of a third for the Supreme Deity, as being mentioned by Paul. Paul, however, must have spoken with reference to already existing ideas. And it may either be, that already in his day some of the Jews had supposed a third heaven as requisite for the residence of Jehovah, or, which is more probable, that the fixed stars, the sun, and moon were supposed to occupy three distinct heavens, in the highest of which dwelt the Supreme Being. The Talmudical opinions collected by Wetstein and Schoettgen, though recognizing the systems of two and seven heavens, do not recognize a system of three. The system of seven heavens or spheres was doubtless derived from the idea of the sun, moon, and five then known planets moving in as many spheres. Cicero, copying apparently from a monotheistic source, locates the Supreme Being in, or identifies him with, the heaven of the fixed stars, below which revolve the seven heavens occupied consecutively by Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and, lowest of all, the Moon.⁶

NOTE D.¹

THE ACTS OF PILATE.

JUSTIN MARTYR mentions a document called the Acts of Pilate,² and manuscripts have come down to us bearing this title. The work in its original shape—for some of the

⁵ Suicer as above. Theodoret would seem from the above to have approved, as well as quoted, an interpretation of the passage (2 Cor. 12, 2), "*caught up to the third heaven*," according to which it meant caught up a third of the way to heaven. His quotation of it is given by Suicer, Vol. 2, p. 522. C. 1. c.

⁶ Cicero, *De Repub.* 6, 10; or *Somm. Scip.* c. 4.

¹ Referred to on pp. 36, 136. See translation and fuller account of these Acts in *Indirect Testimony*, Note A.

² Justin, *Apol.* 1, 35, 48, pp. 65. D., 72. A.

manuscripts are much interpolated — appears to have been one of those Pseudo-Heathen documents which Christian controversialists were tempted to forge, because they felt the need of Heathen testimony while challenging Heathen assent to their statements. The document, in what I deem its original shape,³ professed to be a public record of the trial of Jesus before Pilate, in which many of those whom Jesus had cured came forward to testify as to what he had done for them. The Christians, in appealing to this, could say, We are not appealing to OUR documents, but to YOURS. If you will not believe us, believe your own public records. The record, however, must, by most Christians, unless by those of Syrian origin, have been deemed doubtful, since in the second and third centuries Justin alone mentions it, nor does he make any copious use of it. About the close of the third century some publicity must have been given to it by Christians who may themselves have mistaken it for genuine. This at least affords the only plausible explanation of the fact, that about that time the Heathens — thinking, perhaps, that two could play at the same game — met it by a counter forgery under the same title, which was taught to the children in the schools; so that, according to Eusebius, “the boys had nothing but Jesus and Pilate in their mouths the whole day long.”⁴

Besides the above, there is “Pilate’s Report,” or an official letter sent by Pilate to Tiberius concerning Jesus,⁵ and not essentially different in object or character from the above. Both are Pseudo-Heathen authorities for points in Christ’s history which we may infer from these forgeries were con-

³ The original of the Acts of Pilate I suppose to be best represented in some but not in all respects by the Manuscripts which Thilo designates as Cod. Venet. (the Venetian Manuscript) and Paris D; or rather by the former and the first portion of the latter, terminating at the close of the twelfth chapter. Even these manuscripts are interpolated. A critical edition of them would shed considerable light on the earliest history, after the Apostolic age, of the controversy between Christians and Heathens. Much confusion has resulted from the custom of treating this, and other Pseudo-Heathen or Pseudo-Jewish documents, under the head of Apocryphal Gospels and Epistles. They are thus made to appear as forgeries of Christian authorities, — of documents by Christ and by his Apostles or followers, whereas this was the very character which their forgers intended them not to bear. The Acts of Pilate are usually published under the title, “Gospel of Nicodemus.”

⁴ Hist. Ecc. 9, 5, 7.

⁵ This is probably alluded to by Tertullian in his Apology, c. 21, p. 22. C.

troverted by the Heathens, and both mention the release of the departed.⁶

Between these two documents, and blended with the former, as published by Thilo, appear two others. Their contents induce the supposition that they were intended for controversy with the Jews rather than the Gentiles, since the investigations reported in them concerning the facts of Christ's resurrection and ascension are conducted by Jews. In one of them, a weak production, Joseph of Arimathea is prominent. The other, printed in continuation of it by Thilo, is a narrative, in the heroic strain, of Christ's deeds in the Underworld, and is probably later in date than any of the others. According to it, the Simeon who took Jesus in his arms was, with two sons and brothers, among the number raised at Christ's resurrection. They are cited before the chief priests, and narrate what took place below. At midnight, they narrate, a light shone into the darkness below, and was recognized by Abraham, the Patriarchs, and Prophets, as the light of the great enlightenment. Notwithstanding the anachronism, it refers probably to the light at the Saviour's birth. Luke 2, 9. Then appeared one like an ascetic of the desert, who announced himself as John, and said that he had baptized the Son of God. Seth, in answer to the request of Adam, tells the reasons for hoping that their liberation is at hand, and while they rejoice at it, Satan comes to make an announcement to Hades (the Underworld) which is here personified. "All-devouring, insatiable Hades, listen to my words," is the

⁶ The Venetian manuscript of the Acts of Pilate, and that marked Paris D, indicate that the document at one time, or in one form, concluded (with omission of the doxology) as follows: "Then the Lord arose. He awoke Adam and all the Prophets whom the Devil had in his power; and he awoke also all who believed on him." See Thilo, *Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test.* p. 606.

According to Pilate's report, after especial mention of Abraham, the twelve patriarchs, and others, "there appeared in the air an unnumbered multitude of angels, crying, 'The crucified Christ has risen, being a God,' and a voice was heard as the sound of thunder, saying, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good-will to men. Come up out of the Underworld, ye who are enslaved in its subterranean regions.' . . . And the rocks were rent, and great chasms were formed in the earth, . . . and many bodies of the sleeping dead arose, to the number of five hundred [a misapplication probably of 1 Cor. 15, 6]. And the whole multitude walked about and praised God, saying, 'The Lord our God, who is risen from the dead, made all our dead alive, and, plundering the Underworld, destroyed it.'" — Thilo, p. 811.

beginning of his address; and he tells of what Jesus did on earth, and that by his (Satan's) promptings he had been put to death. Hades is dismayed, fearing the coming prisoner to be the same who rescued Lazarus. While they yet speak, a voice as of thunder is heard, saying, "*Lift your gates, ye rulers, and be ye lifted up, ye eternal doors.*"⁷ Hades directs everything to be barred, and tells Satan to contend against the Lord.

The saints, secure of their triumph, insult their oppressor: "All-devouring, insatiable Hades, open, *that the King of glory may enter;*" and while they talk to each other, the voice from without is again heard, "*Lift up your gates.*" Hades seeks to gain time by the question, "*Who is the King of glory?*"⁸ An answer comes, "*The Lord, powerful and mighty; the Lord, mighty in battle*";⁹ and simultaneously with it the gates are crushed in, and Satan is bound and delivered to Hades for safe keeping till the second coming of the Lord. Hades finds grievous fault with Satan for the ruin occasioned by bringing such a prisoner. The saints on ascending to Paradise find Enoch and Elijah, as also the penitent thief, who had been sent thither by Jesus, and had been requested by the Archangel Michael to wait a little until Adam and the saints should come also.

NOTE E.

RESURRECTION OF FLESH.¹

MENTION has been made of an Orthodox and a Heterodox or Liberalist party among the Catholics. The chief point of division between them was the Resurrection of the Flesh,² which the former maintained in a literal and sometimes in a gross shape;³ and which the latter denied. It may also be

⁷ Ps. 24, 7.

⁸ Ps. 24, 8.

⁹ Ibid.

¹ See § III. and § XXII. 3, 4, 5.

² Compare citations on this subject in § XVIII. 2, and *Indirect Testimony*, Ch. III., note 15. Jewish views may be found in *Judaism*, pp. 45, 427 n., and Stoic ones in the same work, pp. 44 n., 57 n.

³ "Since we learn from Isaiah (66, 2) that the bodies of transgressors, remaining imperishable, shall be devoured by worms and incessant fire, so as to be a spectacle to all flesh." — Justin, *Dialog.* c. 130, p. 223. A.

remarked that the Orthodox generally held and seem to have laid stress upon a Millennium or Reign of Christ for a thousand years on earth, — a doctrine not found among their opponents.⁴

Athenagoras, Tertullian, and Methodius wrote treatises defending a resurrection of the flesh. Fragments of a work in defence of the same are extant under the name of Justin, and are supposed by some to have been part of his work against heresies. Tatian, his disciple, held this view while a Catholic, but afterwards became a Gnostic. Polycarp, Theophilus, and Irenæus, the Ignatian Epistles, and that ascribed to Barnabas, have either argued or expressed themselves in favor of the same view, or have so expressed themselves on subjects which were in their day cognate to it, that no reasonable doubt exists as to their having held it.

The opposite view, owing to the opprobrium resulting from its connection with the heresies of the day, was less likely to receive a free expression. It must, however, have been extensively held among Catholics. Irenæus, as already seen, complains that “some of those who are regarded as having been correct in their belief (i. e. some Catholics) overstep the order of promotion of the just, . . . holding heretical views; for the heretics, . . . not accepting the salvation of their flesh, . . . say that they ascend above the heavens.”⁵ Athenagoras informs us that he wrote his treatise in defence of the resurrection, because “in this matter we have found some altogether incredulous, and others doubtful; and even among the acceptants of the first principles [on which the argument for the resurrection rests], some who are equally at a loss with the doubtful; which last, indeed, is the most unreasonable of all, . . . since they have in the [conceded] facts no starting-point for their disbelief.”⁶ Tertullian tells us that the resurrection of the flesh “is less readily received than the oneness of the Deity,”⁷ by which latter phrase he

⁴ Among the Liberalists also a tendency appears towards the doctrines of Annihilation and Restoration, and towards the consideration of all punishment by the Deity as reformatory, whilst the Orthodox advance, in general, harsher views of future punishment. An attempt to define the relative positions of the two parties on these subjects would require more space than can here be devoted to it, and a more thorough examination than I have yet bestowed upon it.

⁵ Cont. Hæres. 5, 31. 1.

⁶ De Resurrect. c. 1, Justini, *Opp.* p. 316. A.

⁷ De Resurrect. Carnis, c. 2, p. 380. B. Compare De Resurrect. Carn.

means the identity of the Deity from whom the Mosaic and Christian revelations proceeded. There is no need, he informs us in the same connection, of arguing the salvation of the soul, since none deny it.

Justin Martyr appears to struggle with his own conscience in attempting to suppress the fact, of which, considering the above statements, he cannot have been ignorant, that many of the Catholics did not believe a physical resurrection, or, which was the same thing in the phraseology of the Orthodox party, did not believe THE resurrection. He puts into the mouth of the Jew the following question: "Tell me, do you truly confess that this place of Jerusalem is to be rebuilt, and Your People to be assembled and to rejoice with the Messiah, . . . or is it in order to get the better of us in this debate that you are willing to confess this?"

Hereto he responds: "I am not so mean, O Trypho, as to speak differently from what I think.⁸ I confessed to you formerly that I and many others think thus, . . . but I indicated to you also that many Christians of pure and pious belief do not acknowledge this. For as to those who are called Christians, but who are atheists and wicked heretics, I showed you that they teach wholly blasphemous and atheistical and senseless doctrines. And that you may understand that I am not saying this to you only, I will write out our discussion as well as I am able in a book in which I shall insert myself as confessing what I now confess to you. For I do not prefer to follow men or human teachings, rather than God and his teachings. For if you meet with some who are called Christians and do not confess this, but who dare to blaspheme the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, who say also that there is no resurrection of the dead, but that at death their souls are received into heaven, — do not regard them as Christians. . . . But I and

c. 63, p. 429 D. "God . . . in the last days . . . gave new life to the struggling, *laborantem*, faith in the fleshly resurrection."

⁸ This profession of Justin is adduced by Semisch as a proof (!) of his intense love of truth. See Semisch's *Justin der Maertyrer*, Vol. 1, pp. 194, 195. May I caution the reader not to err, on the other hand, by assuming as a fair criterion of Justin's whole character this unworthy equivocation touching the prevalence among Catholics of a view very offensive to the Jews, and to that party of Catholics whereto he himself belonged. Intense party feeling, whether political, theological, or moral, is fruitful in producing such suppression of truth even by otherwise good men.

any other Christians who think correctly ON ALL POINTS understand that there is to be a resurrection of the flesh and [a residence of] a thousand years in Jerusalem, when rebuilt and adorned and enlarged."⁹

The natural impression caused by the foregoing is, that a denial of "the resurrection," or of "the fleshly resurrection," was, like the blasphemy against the God of Abraham, a Gnostic peculiarity. Justin's intention certainly was to convey the idea that he had been perfectly frank. He acknowledges a disbelief of the millennium as prevailing among some Catholics, and leaves it to be inferred that, had he known a further disbelief on their part, he would have owned it. By avoiding to make the Jew question him concerning the resurrection, he avoids the need of a direct answer as to whether any Catholics did or did not reject it in the only form in which a thorough Jew would have recognized it. The tirade against the Gnostics is intended to withdraw attention from the disbelief of the Catholics.

Origen had little respect for the fleshly ideas of the Orthodox. He says: "It behooves every lover of truth to apply his mind to these things, and contend concerning the resurrection, that he may save [on the one hand] the tradition of the elders, and may guard [on the other] against falling into the silly conceptions of imbecile men, which are both impossible and unworthy of the Deity."¹⁰

Hierax and his party evidently belonged to the Catholics, from the chief body of whom they varied mainly by developing the idea of Melchisedek as a type of Christ, and by pushing to an extreme, or putting into practice, the common Catholic admiration of celibacy. **Epiphanius**, heresy-hunter though he is, appears to regard him as orthodox touching the Trinity, but informs us that he did not believe "a fleshly resurrection of the dead, but [simply] a resurrection of the dead, a resurrection of souls."¹¹

Clement of Alexandria, in his criticisms on the Gnostics, forbears any condemnation of their disbelief in a physical resurrection; and in speaking of the punishments in the Underworld as salutary and leading to conversion, he adds: "And this, since souls when freed from their bodies can see

⁹ C. 80, pp. 177, 178.

¹⁰ Selecta in Psalmos, *Opp.* 2, p. 534. A.

¹¹ Epiphan. Hæres. 67, 2, *Opp.* 1, p. 711., B.

more clearly, even if they be darkened by suffering, because they are no longer joined to the flesh."¹² Other passages confirm the idea that he rejected the Orthodox view.

In the *Philosophumena* (10, 34) the future body is called "immortal and incorruptible," which, though not specific, can scarcely mean a fleshly one.

Arnobius acknowledges to the Heathen that he believes a resurrection, yet with the significant addition, that it is "understood by you differently from what we hold";¹³ and he elsewhere treats the heathen persecutions as the means of liberation to the Christians on whom they fell; the body being but a prison, and the destruction—roof and wall—of that prison being the means of introducing light to, and removing blindness from, the prisoner within.¹⁴

Cyprian is the only writer of any note whose position might be a matter of doubt. In treating of man's death, he appears to regard it as a transfer to his permanent, not to his temporary home. "Let us embrace," he says, "the day which assigns to each his abode; which when we are taken thence [that is, out of the world] restores us to Paradise and the Celestial Kingdom. Who when in a foreign land would not hasten to revisit his country? Who whilst hastening his homeward voyage would not long for prosperous winds, that he might the sooner embrace the dear ones? Let us regard Paradise as our country! We have already begun to esteem the Patriarchs as our parents. Why should we not hasten and run that we may see our country and salute our parents? A great number of the dear ones are there expecting us; a dense and numerous crowd of parents, brethren, and children are longing for us, secure of their own immortality [divinity?] and solicitous as yet for our salvation [exemption from the lot of human nature?]." ¹⁵

Yet in two passages **Cyprian**, whilst imitating an argument of his master **Tertullian**, introduces the Orthodox idea of the resurrection. **Tertullian**, in a declamatory address to the ladies, after complaining of their head-dress, their dyeing their hair, etc., adds: "I shall see (at the day of resurrection) . . . whether the angels will carry you painted in that fashion into the clouds to meet Christ."¹⁶ **Cyprian**, in his tract on the same subject as the foregoing, asks: "Are you not afraid, I

¹² Strom. 6, 46. ¹³ Adv. Gent. 2, 13. ¹⁴ Adv. Gentes. 2, 77.

¹⁵ De Mortal. 26, p. 166; compare *De Exhort. Martyrii*, pp. 183, 184.

¹⁶ De Cultu Feminarum, 2, 7, p. 178. A.

pray, lest, when the day of resurrection arrives, your artificer should not recognize you in such a plight?"¹⁷

And again, Tertullian, in answer to those who deemed baptism unnecessary because Abraham had pleased God without it, says that faith alone might suffice for salvation prior to Christ's suffering. But since the objects of faith have been multiplied by the NATIVITY, SUFFERING, AND RESURRECTION of Jesus, baptism had been added as a seal. Shortly after he adds, touching heretical baptism, that he cannot recognize it because they do not have THE SAME GOD as the Catholic Christians, nor a COMMON CHRIST, and therefore not a common baptism.¹⁸ Cyprian, in a passage on heretical baptism, imitates the above by asking whether Marcion holds the "SAME ONLY-SON CHRIST as we, BORN of the Virgin Mary, who . . . conquered death BY DYING, and in his own person initiated the resurrection of the flesh."¹⁹

The probability is, either that Cyprian held different views at different periods, or that, after becoming a Liberalist, his early training and imitation of Tertullian betrayed him at times into phraseology inconsistent with some of his own opinions.

NOTE F.

FURTHER REMARKS ON § XXII. 5.

BESIDES Tertullian, who alone is quoted in that division of § XXII. whereof this note is the continuation, two documents are sometimes cited as belonging to the third century and as consigning Christian souls, on their departure from this life, to the Underworld. One is a treatise entitled "Of the Rule of Faith," or "Of the Trinity." It has been attributed to Tertullian, Cyprian, and Novatian,¹ and been published by

¹⁷ De Habitu Virginum, 17, *Opp.* p. 100.

¹⁸ De Baptismo, cc. 13, 15, p. 262.

¹⁹ Epist. 73, p. 200.

¹ Rufinus says that certain heretics belonging to the party of Macedonius, who thought blasphemously of the Holy Spirit, had inserted into the collection of Cyprian's Epistles, Tertullian's reprehensible tract on the Trinity (meaning perhaps the foregoing), and sold it through the

Jackson as the work of the last-mentioned writer. The date at which it is first mentioned inclines me to regard it as a work of the fourth century, towards the close of which we first hear of it. A partial perusal of it inclines me to deem it deserving of more attention than it has received. The passage touching souls, with the connection in which it stands, is as follows: “(God) even in the upper regions, that is, in those which are above the firmament and not visible at the present day to our eyes, originally instituted angels, classified spiritual powers, appointed thrones and principalities, and founded many other immensely spacious heavens and infinite works which are concealed from us; so that this world, however immense, may appear to be the last, rather than the only, work of God’s physical creation. For neither are the regions below the earth void of classified and appointed powers. For it is the place whither the souls of pious and impious are conducted, experiencing a foretaste of the future judgment, to the end that we may perceive that the superabundant immensities in all parts of his works are not confined within the inclosures, however capacious (*sinus capacissimos*) as we have said, of this world; and also that we may think on depths and altitudes below the world itself; and that thus, having considered the greatness of the works, we can worthily admire the Architect of such immensity.”

whole city of Constantinople at a cheap rate. (*De Adulteratione Lib. Origenis*, in Origen. *Opp.* Vol. 4, Append., p. 53. A. B.) To this statement Jerome responds in his usual rough way, that it contained two lies, for the work was neither written by Tertullian nor attributed to Cyprian, but was (or was called) Novatian’s, whose name was inscribed in its title. (*Apol. adv. Rufin.*, *Hieronymi Opp.*, ed. Vallars., Vol. 2, col. 513.) Elsewhere, in direct opposition to the foregoing, **Jerome** says of Novatian: “He wrote . . . a large volume concerning the Trinity, making it as it were an epitome of Tertullian’s work, most persons being ignorant of which, deem the same to be Cyprian’s.” — *De Vir. Illust.*, *Opp.*, Vol. 2, col. 911.

The work published by Jackson is probably the one referred to by Rufinus, for though it gives the Holy Spirit the prominence of a distinct chapter (C. 29), yet it ignores its personality, a fact not remarkable in the earlier days of Christianity. Jerome had evidently no certain knowledge concerning it, and seems to have been prompted in some of his remarks chiefly by the desire of finding fault with Rufinus. It can as little have been an epitome of Tertullian’s opinions, or of any work of his, as it can have originated with him. I doubt whether it be Novatian’s, for it treats the punishments of God as intended for man’s improvement (p. 41, Jackson’s edit.), a view which, though possible, is very improbable in such a disciplinarian as Novatian appears to have been.

The other document above alluded to may be found at the close of the common English editions of Josephus, as translated by Whiston under the title "Josephus's Discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades." The Greek text of this will be found in Humphrey's "Apologeticks of Athenagoras," pp. 802–807. It appears also in a briefer form, corresponding to the first four fifths of Whiston's translation, in the Appendix to Havercamp's Josephus, pp. 145–147. Its first four sections are stated to be an extract.² The heading of this is: "CONCERNING HADES *in which are contained the souls of the just and the unjust*," and the remainder is an exhortation based thereon. The extract is professedly "by Josephus,"³ from the 'DISCOURSE AGAINST GREEKS,' in accordance with Plato,⁴ 'CONCERNING THE CAUSE OF THE UNIVERSE.' "

The extract is Jewish; the exhortation is by a Christian. The former says: "Hades is . . . a subterranean region, in which the light of the world does not shine. Since, therefore, the light does not shine in this region, it must necessarily be IN PERPETUAL DARKNESS. This region is allotted as a place of custody for souls. . . . The just . . . are now detained in Hades, but not in the same place as the unjust. . . . The just being led with lights . . . are brought to a region φωτεινον [artificially?] lighted where the just from the beginning have dwelt."

The Christian writer who quotes this accepts (§ 5, Humphrey's Athenagoras, p. 304) its view of Hades as a place "in which the souls of all are detained until a time determined by God."

The Jewish document is probably coeval with, or earlier

² Section 5 begins: "This [previously quoted] is the Discourse concerning Hades."

³ "BY JOSEPHUS" formed, I think, no part of the original heading. There is in Josephus, *Antiq.* 18, 3, 3, an interpolation concerning Jesus, part of which terms him "a teacher of such men as received the truth with pleasure." The interpolator, or some one who upheld the passage as genuine, prefixed the name of Josephus to the present document, and inserted into its latter portion, after a mention of Christ, the statement: "Concerning whom WE HAVE ELSEWHERE WRITTEN MORE PARTICULARLY for such as seek the truth." The interpolation of the Antiquities is first mentioned by Eusebius in the beginning of the fourth century, nor is the ascription of the present document to Josephus, probably, of earlier date.

⁴ Two readings occur: *κατὰ Πλατῶνα* and *κατὰ Πλατωνός [λόγον]* Compare the latter expression also in the fifth section of the document.

than, the Christian era. Valerius Flaccus, writing about A. D. 70, blends its views and those of a Jewish document attributed to Sibylla, both of which he combines or confuses with a conception and phraseology of Virgil.⁵

NOTE G.¹

MODERN VIEWS OF THE CLAUSE IN THE CREED, "HE DESCENDED INTO THE UNDERWORLD."

THAT creed which commonly passes under the name of the Apostles' contains a clause concerning Christ, that "He descended into the Underworld," or, as it is inappropriately rendered in the ordinary English version, "He descended into Hell," and this creed has been adopted into the most widely

⁵ Virgil says of Æneas and his companion, that, on emerging from the regions of gloom, —

"Devenere locos lætos, et amœna vireta
Fortunatorum nemorum, sedesque beatas
(Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit
Purpureo) solemque suum, sua sidera norunt."

Æneid, 6, 638–641.

which, if isolated, might mean that these individuals "recognized their own sun and their own stars." Two other lines, however (*Æneid*, 6, 680, 762), imply that these localities had their own sun and stars. In this sense Claudian (*Rapt. Proserpine*, 2, 282–284) understood Virgil.

The Erythræan Verses (cited in *Judaism*, p. 430) say that the good are led "into a light and life without care . . . and no one will any more say, night has come, or morning, . . . for [God] will make one long day." They also say that on petition of the good, God will remove the wicked "from the flaming fire . . . with no remnant of burn, . . . to the Elysian Plain." Virgil, who repeatedly copied or parodied this document (see *Judaism*, Note A, footnotes 32, 51, 60, 65, 66, 74, 80, 83), seems to have confused Paradise with the Elysian Plain, and as a result to have placed sun and stars in the Underworld.

A passage of Flaccus, based probably on the above confusion of localities by Virgil, seems to borrow its perennial day directly from the Erythræan Verses. It says: "All of whom [previously described] . . . Mercury leads . . . shaking his lamp . . . until they reach . . . the fields, *ubi sol* where [is or upon which shines the] sun and [where] the genial day lasts the whole year." — Valer. Flac. 1. 841–845.

¹ Referred to on pp. 83, 131.

circulated Protestant confessions of faith. But the belief of those Protestants was, or soon became, irreconcilable with the only object which the early Christians had assigned to this descent, that is, with the only conceptions of it entertained by those who originated the doctrine and who made it an article of faith.

The Protestants, as has been already remarked,² were by their opposition to the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory, and to the liberation therefrom through masses or indulgences, led to give prominence to the idea that no change was possible after death. This being the case, they could not very well concede, that, in the case of the Fathers, a change, or translation, HAD taken place. Equally unnatural would it have been to accept a ministry to the departed, since the only object of such a ministry was to change their condition, or to prepare the way for a change in it. A victory over Satan would be without result, since none were to be liberated by it, and not only would the same have held true of the Ransom, but the latter had since the eleventh century come to be regarded as paid to God.

The Lutherans.

Among the books which the Lutherans regard as confessions or expositions of their faith is the Formula of Concord, prepared in 1576, the object of which, according to Mosheim, was "to give peace to the Lutheran Church, and to guard it against the opinions of the Reformed," that is, of the Calvinists.³ It consists of two parts, the Summary View, and the Thorough Exposition. The numbering of the Articles corresponds in these two parts, the ninth being, in each case, CONCERNING CHRIST'S GOING TO HELL.

SUMMARY VIEW. "Article 9. Controversy has been waged touching this Article among theologians of the Augsburg Confession, as to when and how the Lord Christ went, as our simple Christian faith teaches, to Hell; as to whether this took place before or after his death; also, whether it took place as regarded his soul only, or his divine nature only; or as to whether it took place with soul and body, spiritually or bodily. Also as to whether this Article belongs

² See § XII. 2.

³ Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 3, pp. 153, 154, transl. of Dr. Murdock.

to the suffering, or to the royal victory and triumph of Christ.

"But since this Article, even as the preceding, cannot be comprehended by the sense or understanding, but must be apprehended by faith alone, our unanimous opinion is, that it is not a subject for discussion, but should only in the simplest manner be believed and taught, seeing that the blessed Dr. Luther, in his sermon at Torgau, Anno [15]33, etc., has explained the said Article in a perfectly Christian manner, precluded all unprofitable, unnecessary questions, and exhorted all pious Christians to Christian simplicity of belief.

"For it is enough to know, that Christ went to Hell, destroyed Hell for all believers, and freed them from the power of death, Devil, and eternal condemnation to Hell's jaws.⁴ But as to how this took place we should spare inquiry until in the other world, where not alone this, but other things, will be revealed which we have here simply believed, but could not comprehend with our blind understanding."⁵

The "THOROUGH EXPOSITION" of the same Article is but a briefer and more definite statement of belief.

[Art. 9.] "OF CHRIST'S GOING TO HELL. — And since, both among the early Christian Fathers and among some of our own teachers, different expositions have been given of the Article concerning Christ's going to Hell, we leave it in the same simplicity of our Christian faith which Dr. Luther pointed out to us in his sermon concerning Christ's going to Hell, preached in the castle at Torgau, Anno [15]33,⁶ for we

⁴ Had the term "Hell" been here used in a sense corresponding to the Underworld, the object of Christ's descent would have corresponded to that mentioned in § XXIII. But in German, as in English, the Underworld was not only translated by the term "Hell," but commonly, and in the above instance, appears to have been understood as the place of torment.

⁵ The original of this may be found in "Concordia—Die Symbolischen Buecher der Evang.-Lutherischen Kirche," von F. A. Koethe, Leipzig, 1830, on pp. 383, 384.

⁶ A note in the Concordia refers to the "Sechsten jennischen Theile [of Luther's works no doubt], p. 76, b. 77 und 78." In Koenig's Lehre von Christi Hoellenfahrt (pp. 153, 154) is an epitome of this sermon, according to which the second point in it appears to have been that Christ "descended SOUL AND BODY, yet so that his body remained at the same time in the GRAVE." Luther seems to have held different opinions at different times, and his irreverence and impetuosity were probably increased by his perplexity when in his exposition of 1 Mos. [c.] 7, he affirms "that he (the Apostle Peter) blurts out like a madman, or one that

confess, ‘I believe on the Lord Jesus CHRIST, GOD’S SON, born, buried, and gone to Hell.’ In which, then, we DISCRIMINATE, as separate articles, the BURIAL of Christ and his GOING TO HELL, and we believe simply that THE WHOLE PERSON, GOD and MAN AFTER THE BURIAL, went to Hell, overcame the Devil, destroyed the power of Hell, and took all his might from the Devil. But as to how this took place we shall not trouble ourselves with acute and exalted thoughts, since this article can equally little as the preceding — How Christ is placed at the right hand of the almighty power and majesty of God — be comprehended with the understanding and the five senses, but is to be believed alone, and literally held. Thus we obtain the substance of it, and the consolation that neither Hell nor the Devil can take prisoner nor injure us nor any of those who believe on Christ.”⁷

The history of theology presents more instances than the above, in which an obvious absurdity has been glossed over with the title of an incomprehensible article of faith; and in which the inconsistency has been superadded, of stating that an idea could not be comprehended, and nevertheless had been satisfactorily explained.

German and Dutch Calvinists.

The **Heidelberg Catechism**, published in 1563, is the manual of instruction for the German and Dutch Reformed (or Calvinist) Churches. Question 44 asks, “Why is there added, He descended into Hell?” Answer: “That I may be assured and wholly comfort myself in this, that my Lord Jesus Christ, by his inexpressible anguish, pains, terrors, and hellish agonies, in which he was plunged during all his sufferings, but especially on the cross, hath delivered me from the anguish and torments of Hell.”

“A Compendium of the Christian Religion for those who intend to approach the Holy Supper of the Lord,” is at present (and was perhaps originally) connected with, or a part of, the Catechism. Its twentieth Question asks, “What is the sum of that which God hath promised in the Gospel, and com-

is possessed (wie ein wahnsinniger oder besessener Mensch), with words which even at this day we cannot understand.” I quote from Koenig, p. 155, who refers to Luther’s works, ed. Lips., Tom. 1, pp. 512, 513. The reader may think that such a statement would be more applicable to the above extract from Luther’s own sermon, than to the Apostle.

⁷ Koethe’s Concordia, pp. 484, 485.

manded us to believe?" Answer: "That is comprehended in the twelve articles of the Catholic Christian Faith, which are as follows." Here follows the Apostles' Creed divided into twelve articles, and in the fourth article the clause, "He descended into Hell." Question 32: "What then hath Jesus Christ done to save us?" Answer: "He has suffered for us, was crucified, and died, was buried, and descended into Hell; that is, he suffered the torments of Hell, and thus became obedient to his Father, that he might deliver us from the temporal and eternal punishment due to sin."

French Calvinists.

Perhaps the name of **Calvin** might have stood more appropriately than French Calvinists at the head of this, since the only quotation in it will be from him. The Early French Calvinists were, however, devoted to his authority. The quotation is from his *Institutes*: "But it is not right to omit his 'descent into Hell,' which is of no small importance towards the accomplishment of Redemption.⁸ . . . It was necessary for him to contend with the powers of Hell and the horrors of eternal death; . . . he was made a substitute and surety for transgressors, and even treated as a criminal himself, to sustain all the punishments which would have been inflicted on them, only with this exception, that '*it was not possible that he should be holden of the pains of death.*' Therefore it is no wonder if he be said to have descended into hell, since he suffered that death which the wrath of God inflicts on transgressors."⁹

Anglican Church.

In the Articles of this Church, the third says: "As Christ died for us and was buried, so also it is to be believed that he went down into Hell."

When the Articles were first issued in the year 1552, the following explanatory clause was connected with the foregoing: "For his body lay in the sepulchre until his resurrection; the spirit which he gave up was with the spirits who were detained in prison, or the lower regions, and preached to them, as the passage of Peter testifies," etc.¹⁰

⁸ *Institutes*, Book 2, c. 16, sect. 8. The citation is from Allen's translation, Vol. 1, p. 408, Lond., 1838.

⁹ *Ibid.*, § 10, p. 409.

¹⁰ See Pearson, *Exposit. of the Creed*, p. 341, edit. New York, 1844.

In the days of Queen Elizabeth, this explanation was erased, and it is but indirectly that any explanation is elsewhere alluded to. The Thirty-fifth Article enumerates certain homilies as containing "a godly and wholesome doctrine," and appoints them "to be read in churches by the ministers diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people," and in the fourteenth of these homilies is a passage, which, although obscured by declamation and by the mingling of disconnected ideas, implies a victory won by the Saviour below. "His death destroyed death and overcame the Devil. . . . Thus is death swallowed up by Christ's victory, thus is Hell spoiled forever. If any man doubt of this victory, let Christ's glorious resurrection declare him the thing. . . . If Christ had the victory of them all [death, sin, the Devil, and Hell] by the power of his death, and openly proved it by his most VICTORIOUS AND VALIANT resurrection, . . . why may not we . . . say . . . 'Where is thy dart, O Death? Where is thy victory, O Hell?' " ¹²

Whence it would seem that the way of escape for the Saviour had to be opened by his valor in a personal conflict. Such an association of ideas with the Saviour, though it might kindle a man's soul in the second or third century, is anything but pleasant to a Christian of the nineteenth.

The Westminster Confession.

The above-named Confession, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms appended, represents, or is regarded as representing, the belief of influential denominations in England and the United States. The Apostles' Creed appears at the end of the Shorter Catechism, and to the clause "He descended into hell," is appended the following explanatory note: "That is, continued in the state of the dead, and under the power of death, until the third day." ¹³

If we ask what is meant by this explanation, we find that

¹¹ See Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I, p. 626, edit. New York, 1843.

¹² Homilies, pp. 387, 388, edit. Philadelphia, 1844.

¹³ This explanation appears also in the answer to Question 50 of the Larger Catechism. "Christ's humiliation after death consisted in being buried and continuing in the state of the dead, and under the power of death, until the third day, which hath been otherwise expressed in these words: 'He descended into Hell.' "

the Confession denies any one state for all the dead, affirming that there are two states, Heaven and Hell, and that "besides these two places for souls separated from their bodies the Scripture acknowledgeth none."¹⁴ And to these two states respectively we are informed that the good and wicked go at death.¹⁵ Concerning the good it is said, "The communion in glory with Christ which the members of the invisible Church enjoy IMMEDIATELY AFTER DEATH is that their souls are then . . . received into the highest (?) heaven."¹⁶ If we now ask into which of these states Christ went, hell can hardly have been intended as his abode after death, else would any explanatory note have been unnecessary. Let us substitute for this note, therefore, the expressed condition of the RIGHTEOUS dead, and the clause with its note will read, "He descended into Hell," — "That is, immediately after death was received into the highest heavens."

Such an incongruity cannot have been intentional. It strikingly betrays the perplexity of those who fell into it, as also their willingness to conceal that perplexity by the use of language which in their system was meaningless.

Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

The Articles of this Church, as established in 1801, are simply a revised issue of the Anglican ones. Article III. states, "IT IS TO BE BELIEVED that he (Christ) went down into Hell," and as a prerequisite to baptism, the candidate or sponsor is obliged to assent to the questions, "Dost thou believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith as contained in the Apostles' Creed?" and "Wilt thou be baptized in this faith?" But over the Apostles' Creed stands the direction, "Any churches may omit the words, 'He descended into Hell';" implying, as would appear, that IT NEED NOT BE BELIEVED.

Article XXXV., on the Homilies, is copied, with a note, which "suspends the order for the reading of said Homilies in churches until a revision of them may be made, for the clearing of them as well from obsolete words and phrases as from

¹⁴ Confession of Faith, c. 32, 1.

¹⁵ Ibid. and Larger Catechism, Answer to Question 86.

¹⁶ Larger Catechism, Answer to Question 86. By comparing the extract from Justin in § XXII. 2, it will appear that the standard of Orthodoxy had undergone a change.

local references"; but the note states that "this Article is received into this Church so far as it declares the books of Homilies to be an explication of Christian doctrine, and instructive in piety and morals." This would seem to indorse the doctrine of the Homilies, that Christ had to fight his way out of SATAN'S dominions. But over the Apostles' Creed is stated, that the words, "He went into the place of departed spirits," are considered as words "of the same meaning [with those in] the Creed," and one of the prayers in the burial-service is addressed to "Almighty God, with whom . . . the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity," implying, apparently, when taken together, that the Saviour was not in the dominions of Satan, but with God.

Concluding Remark.

Would it not be more to the credit of Christians, if, instead of retaining as a part of their creed, and endeavoring to explain the above clause, they were candidly to admit, that it originated in the now untenable idea of an Underworld; and that, so far from being a necessary article of faith, it is a tenet which every intelligent Christian, who does not wish to make a mockery of Christianity or to trifle with his own candor, ought to recoil from subscribing or uttering?

NOTE H.¹

SIBYLLINE ORACLES.

IN the Argument for the Gospels (§ XXV.) I have quoted the First and Eighth Books of the Sibylline Oracles. Bleek and Luecke² regard the First and Second Books as belonging, not to the period discussed in this Essay, but to the middle of the fifth century, a supposition so strongly contradicted by their general contents, that Luecke's acceptance of it seems singular.³ One cause of such a supposition may have been a

¹ Referred to on p. 136.

² See Luecke, *Einleit. in die Offenbar.*, Vol. I, p. 268.

³ The first book consists, with its heading, of 407 lines, whereof 330

mention of the Holy Virgin, Book 1, line 365 (or 359), p. 183, where it must be an error of transcription. The parallel line (Book 8, line 292, p. 737), from which, however, this may originally have differed, reads, in the same connection "hope of the peoples (ἐλπίδα λαῶν)." To the foregoing error has been added a misinterpretation of Book 2, line 312, which needs a word of explanation. The Fathers, borrowing perhaps from the Jews, regarded Eve as a virgin until after her expulsion from Paradise. She was a virgin, therefore, at the date of her temptation. The author of the Sibylline fragment in which the above line is found, seems to have held, with the Millenarians, that the Judgment was to supervene seven thousand years after the creation, and states that God "gave seven ages as a time of repentance to men who had been led astray by an unpolluted Virgin," (p. 289). The allusion is to Eve, not to the Virgin Mary.

NOTE I.

HOMILIES ON LUKE.

ORIGEN wrote (see *Indirect Testimony*, Note L, footnote 23) FIVE homilies on Luke which must, like his other works, have been in Greek, since Jerome thought of translating them.

The thirty-nine homilies on that evangelist now published in Origen's works¹ bear unmistakable evidence of having been composed in Latin,² though by a writer familiar with Alexan-

are so far from being marked by the Catholicism of the fifth century, that they contain no allusion to Christianity. They are probably from a Jew. The remaining 77 are Christian, probably of the third century. See, touching the Sibylline Oracles, Judaism at Rome, Note A of the Appendix.

¹ They may be found in Origen's works, Vol. 3, pp. 932-979 edit. de la Rue; 5, 85-236 edit. Lommatzsch; also in Jerome's works, edit. Vallars. 7, cols. 247-366. Twenty of these homilies deal with the first two chapters and nineteen with the remainder of the Gospel.

² "Moses said: 'I am ἀλογος,' which, though a LATIN would have expressed it otherwise, can nevertheless be appropriately translated 'void of speech' or [else] 'of reason.'" *Hom. 5, Opp. 3*, 937 B. (5, 101). "This virtue . . . by them is called ἀνυψία or μετρίότης. But we by a periphrasis can call it, 'when any one is not puffed up but humbles

drine ideas. Passages in them favor the view that they were written later than Origen's time,³ and one statement fairly implies that they originated after the establishment of Christianity under Constantine.⁴

himself.'" **Hom. 8, Opp. 3, 941 C. (5, 114).** "God therefore is asked that for a little while they may be turned into stones. The Greek language utters this more expressively, ἀπολιθωθείσαν." **Hom. 22, Opp. 3, 959 C. (5, 172).** The following two may also indicate a Latin original but are less conclusive. "'Hail, favored one!' which in Greek is expressed by κεχαριτωμένη." **Hom. 6, Opp. 3, 939 A. (5, 106).** "'When thou goest with thy adversary to [a] judge.' He does not put judge with the article [preceding] lest he should seem to designate a particular one, but without the article . . . [a distinction] which AMONG GREEKS is more intelligible." **Hom. 35, Opp. 3, 974 A. (5, 220).**

³ "So many ages have passed by and such innumerable years from that time [when John the Baptist taught] until the present day." **Hom. 23, Opp. 3, 959 F. (5, 173).** "Conventicles of Christians are gathered in *omni orbe* throughout the whole world." **Hom. 12, Opp. 3, 946 D. (5, 128).** "Jesus teaches in *toto orbe* throughout the whole world." **Hom. 32; Opp. 3, 970 C. (5, 206).** Compare the remark, "There will be a time when the people of the Jews will say, . . . 'what thou hast shown *universo orbi* to the whole world show also to us.'" **Hom. 33; Opp. 3, 971 C. (5, 209-210).**

⁴ "Who [of us] was not incredulous of [receiving] justice! [of us] who now *propter Christum* because of [dominant] Christianity have justice, and pursue justice." **Hom. 7; Opp. 3, 940 A. (5, 110).**

INDEX I.

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